

United States - R

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From American Antiquarian Soc.

Aug. 29, 1932

JOHN HULL. FAC SIMILE OF HIS MS.

The state of England our dear Native
Country being by the usurpation of the
Bishops under great declining both Civill
& churche Ecclesiasticall, gods faithfull
ministers silenced, sentenced also to Imprison-
ment & banishment if they would not Conform
to read the Kings & Bishops writs granting
liberty for profanation of the Lords day &c
& also imposing upon the ministry many popish
Injunctions wch proved as noare unto some
honest minds & aburden unsupportable to many
others both ministers & people whose hearts
God stirred up rather to endure a voluntary
Exile from their native soyl & to hazard the
Loss of all their sweet outward Comforts &
relations rather than to defile their Con-
sciences & ensnare themselves by holding
their rich ransoms.

John Hull. minister
John Hull Treasurer

Shilling; Six pence; Three pence; and Two pence struck by him



See Note H.

THE
DIARIES OF JOHN HULL,

Mint-master and Treasurer

OF THE
COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

With a Memoir of the Author.

BOSTON:
PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON AND SON,
22, SCHOOL STREET.
1857.

Extracted from
Vol. III. of the
Transactions
of the
American
Antiquarian
Society 1857

ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

THE small pocket-volume from which the Diaries of Hull are printed was presented to the Antiquarian Society by one of its members, — Rev. Dr. SPRAGUE, of Albany, N.Y. That gentleman has been so widely distinguished for his interest in the collection of manuscripts as to be made the recipient of many varieties of documents, whose possessors have wisely deemed them to be safer, and more likely to be useful, in his hands than in their own. He has thus undoubtedly been instrumental in preserving from destruction numerous valuable materials of history. It is not known through what channels this little Note-Book has been transmitted to the present generation. It came to Dr. Sprague many years since, with other manuscripts, from Boston, without any definite indications of its previous history.

The papers of Hull appear to have been a good deal scattered after his death, although perhaps kept

together by his immediate posterity. Prince, in the preface to his Annals, mentions using, among his materials, "interleaved almanacs of the late Hon. John Hull and Judge Sewall, &c., . . . wherein the facts were wrote at the time they happened ; though the notes in several, being wrote in divers sorts of *short-hand*, to which I was an utter stranger, put me to no small pains to find out their *alphabets* and other *characters*." Many of Judge Sewall's almanacs are extant ; and the memoranda in them have been printed in the Genealogical Register. One of Hull's, without notes however, bound with several of Judge Sewall's, is in the possession of Dr. Gould, of Boston. His interleaved almanacs may still exist in the obscurity of private possession, from which it is hoped they may at some time be rescued. The present inheritor of the Diary of Judge Sewall, we are happy to learn, has declared his intention to print that often-quoted document.

Within a year or two, one of Hull's Letter-Books, in which he kept copies of his business correspondence, was presented to one of the officers of this Society, — SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq., — on the credit of his personal reputation as an antiquary, and simply because of the ancient character of the book. The volume was much worn and mutilated, but was found to contain matter of historical interest, sometimes relating to important public affairs, or transactions rather official than personal. It is to be presumed that

other volumes were filled with similar records in the course of a life spent in numerous posts of public service as well as in commercial pursuits of a varied and extensive nature; and it might be worth the while of some descendant of the united families of Hull and Sewall to institute a search for them. The New-England Historical and Genealogical Society has in its library a folio volume of Hull's accounts with the Colony as Treasurer, containing his statement of moneys paid to soldiers that served in Philip's War. Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington, has in his possession a folio Ledger or Account-Book of Judge Sewall's, in the beginning of which are entries corresponding with those at the commencement of Hull's Private Diary. It is very desirable that such fragments of contemporary history should be collected and combined for preservation.

At the solicitation of the Antiquarian Society, Mr. Jennison, whose familiarity with its literary treasures is not less distinguished than the disinterested care with which he has for many years managed the finances of the Institution, was prevailed on to prepare the Memoir of Hull, which here precedes the Diaries, and also to supply such requisite annotations as his convenience and limited leisure would permit him to provide. To his liberal devotion of time and attention to this service we are indebted for a transcript of the Diaries and extracts from the Letter-Book, with illustrative notes and references; and, in this

state of forwardness, the manuscript was transferred to the Committee of Publication for such further preparation as might be necessary before delivering it to the printer.

That troublesome *short-hand*, of which Prince so expressively complains in his reference to the almanacs, was found to be distributed through the pages of the Diaries, and had thus far baffled all attempts to decipher it. Other contractions of an irregular and arbitrary nature also interfered with the presentation of a full and literal copy of the text.

Under these circumstances, one of the Committee — Rev. E. E. HALE — accepted the task of analyzing the characters employed by the writer, for the purpose of ascertaining to what stenographic system they belonged, and thus obtaining a key to their signification. In this effort he was successful; although the discovery of the principle of interpretation, and its application to signs often varied or modified by the caprice or unskilfulness of the hand that used them, involved a degree of patient scrutiny and detective expertness which can be appreciated only by those who have undertaken a similar experiment.

Having thus been brought into such intimate connection with the text of the Diaries, Mr. Hale has also enriched the publication with illustrative and accessory matter of his own contribution. Those who have occasion to decipher the early manuscripts of New England, often obscured by sentences and

longer passages written in secret characters, will thank him for his elucidation of the stenographic systems in use at former periods. The information he has collected respecting the *coinage* of Massachusetts, much of it entirely new, and appropriately connected with the first and only master of the mint, will be found to possess a high historic interest. Besides many briefer notes, the entire Appendix is the fruit of his private learning and research.

The Diaries are not inaptly associated with the narrative of the organization and early proceedings of the Massachusetts Company, to which, in some respects, they bear the relation of a sequel, commencing as they do soon after the establishment of the Colony, and portraying, to a certain extent, the condition and incidents of primitive colonial life. To the true antiquary no apology is necessary for retaining the most trivial entries. Those which are apparently of little significance may yet be suggestive of circumstances that have an historical value. If history is "a mirror of the past," fragments, however minute, of the same material should also each reflect its particular image, and perhaps exhibit some fact, or some trait of habits or manners, whose obscure light would otherwise fail to be transmitted.

The Private Diary occupies one end of the little Note-Book, and the Public Diary the other. Thus the two narratives, in reversed position, advance towards a meeting in the centre of the volume, — a

mode of charging a double duty upon a single memorandum-book which is characteristic of the period. It is not easy to determine precisely when these notes were actually commenced: the dates of the entries do not necessarily indicate the time when they were recorded. The ink and handwriting of the Private Diary appear nearly or quite uniform until the record of Hull's election to the office of ensign of the Artillery Company in 1654 (see p. 146), excepting that, in a space at first left vacant, there were subsequently inserted items of various dates relating to births, deaths, and marriages in the family. In some instances, these re-appear at their proper periods, but not always. There is no second entry of the marriage of his daughter Hannah to Samuel Sewall; a wedding, the history of which has become legendary.

In the Public Diary, the long historical introduction is in the same hand and ink with the note of the execution of King Charles, separated from it by memoranda of various dates, pens, ink, and handwriting. It is quite possible that the commencement of the Diary of public occurrences was suggested by that event, as it certainly began about the year 1649. The Private Diary was probably an after-thought, having been commenced about 1654. The note-taking passion of our fathers was the same in this country as at home. Sir Walter Scott's description of the parish church at Woodstock, in October,

1652, represents the notables of the town as carrying their Bibles and memorandum-books at their girdles, instead of dagger and sword.* These pocket-volumes, containing notes of sermons, are very numerous. One of Hull's, similar in form and size to that containing his Diaries, is alluded to in Whitman's History of the Artillery Company.

Though in minute chirography, the manuscript of the Diaries is well preserved, and everywhere legible, except in a few passages of the short-hand. On the leaf, at first left blank, preceding the Private Diary, there was subsequently added this memorandum: "Dan. Quinsy, born Sept. 12, '50." Of the relationship of Daniel Quincy to Hull, some notes will be found in Appendix A.

Then follows the name of "John Hull," as author of the book. On the next page are sundry aphorisms, in various colors of ink and in different forms of his handwriting; such, doubtless, as he desired to make the guides of his own life and conduct:—

The good Lord watch over me, and give me a
watchful spirit!

John
Hull.

Keep always low thoughts of thyself. Be reverent to superiors, affable and loving unto equals, courteous and helpful unto all.

* Scott's authority here is the following stage-direction in "the Puritan, or the Widow of Watling Street," an anonymous comedy of the seventeenth century: "Enter *Nicholas St. Antlings*, *Simon St. Mary-Overies*, and *Frailty*, in black scurvy mourning-coats, with books at their girdles, as coming from church."

This play, however, was acted as early as 1607.

Flee covetousness, flattery ; neither company with such.

If thou speak in the presence of thy betters, let it be but few words, and in season. Be not forward to speak in any society. Undertake nothing rashly. ^{Keep out of debt.} Keep within the bounds of your calling and of your abilities and estate, &c., in any enterprise.

If thou be at any time moved to anger by any person, pause a while before thou speak.

Mind well the good thou seest in any, specially in persons eminent, so as to walk in their steps ; but, where they erred, be thou thereby warned.

Let the written word be thy rule ; unto which bring all thy actions and speeches. Let thy aim and hope in all, and always, be to get forward (not thy own, but) the Lord's work.

Be frequent in doing good offices, and yielding relief to saints in need, and with as little noise as may be.

Keep thyself innocent ; but be willing to be accounted <sup>2 Sam. 16 ; 10.
Mica 7 ; 9, 10.</sup> innocent, so that Christ's cause may gain either in honor to himself, or men increase in love and peace.

The Lord will provide for the name and honor of those that are willing to bury their own name and honor for his sake.

In printing this manuscript, we have deviated from the rule adopted in printing the Records of the State, where the spelling of the original was carefully followed. The rule here has been to use the modern spelling, and such punctuation as the text demands. A public record, by a public officer appointed for the purpose, becomes, in every detail, an historical document ; and it may be desirable, there-

fore, to preserve its spelling, even in its accidental mis-spellings ; for such a document is a standard index of the literary condition of the general community to which it belongs, as manifested by the acquirements of the man appointed to be its recording officer. It is conceived, however, that no such index is afforded by a private manuscript not intended to meet the public eye, where the irregularities of orthography may only be the result of carelessness or haste. It has, therefore, been regarded as inexpedient to harass the eye of a reader who is seeking antiquarian or historical information by retaining the exact spelling of the text of Hull's Diaries. In the single case of proper names, it has been deemed a duty to follow his orthography, for these, especially the names of people, often differed in this respect at that time from the same names at the present day ; and it is a matter of interest to determine, by any contemporary document, what was the former usage in regard to them. The rule has been to follow the writer's spelling in the case of proper names, but to modernize the residue of the text in that particular ; and to make such punctuation as the sense seemed to require, rather than to retain always the precise punctuation of the manuscript. In one or two documents in the Appendix, the rule has, for special reasons, been deviated from. It is hardly necessary to state, that grammar and syntax, and all essential peculiarities of the writer, have

been left without alteration. A note on p. 143 explains the occasional use of the Italic character.

The reader will observe, that, in the history of the time, our author is generally spoken of as Capt. Hull; and it may excite some surprise, that, at the close of his life, he ranked only as lieutenant in the militia. It should be explained perhaps, therefore, that his rank as captain was his rank in that venerable military corps known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, which, from the earliest period, has existed as a separate organization, quite independent of the regular militia of the State; although its members and officers, like other citizens, serve and take office in the militia.*

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston was modelled after the Honorable Com-

* The arrangement of the militia of the State, about the period when Capt. Hull's Diaries begin, is thus quaintly described in the second tract, called "Good News from New England," printed, in 1648, by Matthew Simmons, London:—

“ Prest to oppose haters of peace, with guide
Of officers, three regiments abide.
In Middlesex, seven ensigns are displaid,
There disciplin'd by Major Sedgwick's aide;
In Suffolk, nine, by Major Gibbons led;
Essex and Norfolk in one are marshalled
By Denison, their major, in the field;
Their generall a yearly choicc doth yeild.
Eight times a year each band instructed is;
And once to meet in one they may not misse.
Both horse and foot, force, forts, and castles, are
Prepared in peace for peace, yet fit for war.”

It is truly remarkable that this especially valuable tract has so completely escaped the attention of our historians. The Massachusetts Historical Society, justly impressed with its importance, had a copy made from that in the British Museum, and reprinted it in their volume for 1852. A copy of the original, with manuscript notes by Prince, has long been in the library of the Antiquarian Society. But Prince does not mention it in his printed list of authorities, and at that date had probably not seen it.

pany of London, “exercising arms in the Artillery Garden;” whence its name of Artillery Company. In 1631, Capt. Henry Waller, one of the Massachusetts company, was the commander,* and some of the early colonists had been members. It is mentioned by Jesse, in his account of London, that the place where the trainbands of the city were exercised was close by Artillery Walk, Bunhill Fields, containing the house where Milton completed his “Paradise Lost,” and in which he died. “There, too,” says his nephew and biographer, Philips, “he used, in fine summer weather, to sit at the door of his house to enjoy the fresh air, and to receive the visits of persons of rank and genius who came to pay their homage and enjoy his conversation.”

The establishment at Boston of so peculiar a military organization, under so peculiar a title, is one among many evidences of the prominent relation borne by some of the founders of Massachusetts to the various municipal institutions of London; a relation which became more manifest in the course of the succeeding Revolution.

For the Committee of Publication,

S. F. HAVEN.

* Funeral Sermon by Rev. George Hughes, in A. A. S. Library.

MEMOIR AND DIARIES OF JOHN HULL.

M E M O I R.

MR. JOHN HULL, as we learn from his diary, was born at Market Hareborough, in Leicestershire, Dec. 18, 1624, where he was brought up at school until, in his eleventh year, he accompanied his father, Robert Hull, to New England. After a variety of perils encountered on the voyage, they arrived at Boston on the 7th of November, 1635. "After a little keeping at school,"¹ as he expresses it, "I was taken to help my father plant corn, which I attended for several years together; and then, by God's good hand, I fell to learning (by the help of my brother), and to practise the trade of a goldsmith."

When in his twenty-third year, he married Judith, daughter of Edmund Quincy, who came over in 1633, and was the founder of the distinguished family of that name in Massachusetts. The ceremony was per-

¹ John Hull is, therefore, the earliest scholar who can now be named of Philémon Pormort, whose school, the only one in Boston, was established April 23d of the same year, — the first school of public instruction in Massachusetts.

formed by Governor Winthrop, "on the 11th of the 3d month," 1647. Mrs. Hull was born in England, Sept. 3, 1626. She survived her husband, and died in 1695.

In 1648, he became a member of Mr. Cotton's church. He was a Puritan, zealous for the preservation of uniformity, watchful against all innovations, and approving, no doubt from a conviction of their propriety, the severe measures adopted by the government in its treatment of the Anabaptists and Quakers.

In the same year, he was "chosen and accepted as corporal, under the command of the honored Major Gibbons," and in 1652 became a sergeant. The importance attached to this office, and his sense of the responsibility which it involved, may be inferred from an entry in his diary, in which he beseeches that "the good Lord would please to make me able and fit for, and faithful in, the place I am called unto; that I may, as with a spirit of wisdom and humility, love and faithfulness, obey my superiors; so also be exemplary and helpful to my inferiors, and by him be kept from temptation and corruption."

It was in 1652, as he states in his diary, that, "upon occasion of much counterfeit coin brought into the country, and much loss accruing in that respect (and that did occasion a stoppage of trade), the General Court ordered a mint to be set up, and to coin it, bringing it to the sterling standard for fineness; and,

for weight, every shilling to be three pennyweight.” “And they made choice of me for that employment; and I chose my friend, Robert Sanderson, to be my partner, to which the Court consented.” On this subject we find, in the Court’s order for establishing the mint, that it “being of so great concernment, that it may not in any particular thereof fall to the ground,” Richard Bellingham and four others were constituted a committee to appoint the mint-house in some convenient place in Boston, and to give John Hull the oath suitable to his place.¹ The “mint-house” was located on Mr. Hull’s estate, the land to be conveyed to the government, at a fair valuation, when his office of mint-master expired (Drake’s Hist. Boston). The design was promptly put in execution. The date attached to the coins is 1652, and was never changed, although the coinage was continued for several years. The first order of the Court was, that the coins should be, “for form, flat and square on the sides, and stamped on the one side with NE, and on the other side with XII*d.*, VI*d.*, and III*d.*” It was afterwards ordered,² that, to prevent “clipping or washing,” they should have “a double ring on either side, with this inscription: Massachusetts, and a tree in the centre, on the one side; and New England, and the date of the year, on the other side.” They were also to have “a private mark, known only to the Governor, and

¹ May 26, 1652.

² Oct. 19, 1652.

the sworn officers of the mint." In 1663, the Court ordered a coinage of twopenny pieces. All persons had liberty to bring in bullion, plate, and Spanish pieces, and have them converted into Massachusetts coins; but, in 1654,¹ it was enacted, that to "send, carry, or transport, out of this jurisdiction, any of the money" so coined, exceeding twenty shillings for necessary expenses, should subject the offender to the confiscation of all his visible estate.

It is because the tradition has been sanctioned in a public lecture by Mr. Sparks, that the anecdote is here introduced of the indignation expressed by King Charles at the presumption of the colony in usurping his prerogative in coining money; and that, on being informed that the figure upon the coins which represents a tree was the *royal oak* which was the means of preserving his majesty's life, this evidence of loyalty quite allayed his resentment: while the government of the colony expressed its confidence, that, when his majesty should be truly informed of the usefulness of the mint, "and the simplicity of our acting, he would not account those to be friends to his crown that shall seek to interrupt us therein; and, for the impress put upon the coins, we shall take it as his majesty's signal owning us, if he will please to order such an impress as shall be to him most acceptable." It was allowed to Mr. Hull to take one shilling out of every

¹ Aug. 20.

twenty shillings which he coined.¹ Hutchinson says the money did not obtain currency anywhere, otherwise than as bullion, except in the New-England colonies; and that the mint-master raised a large fortune by it.

In 1654, Mr. Hull was chosen ensign of the South Military Company, and, in 1656, "by the sergeant-major and military officers to keep the records of their proceedings." In 1657, he was chosen one of the seven Selectmen of Boston, in which capacity he served several years. In 1658, he was chosen "by the Selectmen to receive, keep, and dispose of, the town's stock or treasure." In 1660, he was admitted a member of the Artillery Company, afterwards known as the Ancient and Honorable. Of this company he was ensign in 1663, under Gen. Leverett, and, in 1664, lieutenant. In 1671, he became its captain, and continued in office until 1678.

In 1668, he was chosen by the town of Wenham to be their deputy in the General Court; which office, by the persuasion "of Mr. Newman, Mr. Cobbett, and sundry other friends," he was induced to accept. In 1671, 1673, and 1674, he was also a deputy for the town of Westfield, in 1676 for Concord, and in 1679-80 for Salisbury.

In 1669, he was one of the founders of the Old

¹ This allowance was afterwards changed. Some information relating to it, and the efforts which the Court made to change it, will be found in a note to the passage in Hull's private diary which alludes to the establishment of the mint.

South, which was the third Boston church. In 1675, he was appointed by the Council "one of the Committee, and also Treasurer, for the war;" and in 1676, by the General Court, to be the Country Treasurer. In 1680, on being chosen an Assistant, he "was released from his former serving as Treasurer," and was succeeded by James Russell. Judge Sewall says he was indisposed most of the summer of 1683, came home from the Court Sept. 6, and never went into town after. He died Oct. 1, 1683. His funeral sermon was preached by Vice-President Willard, and was published.¹ In this, his character is thus delineated: —

"They are little things to be put into the account, and weigh but light in the commendations we have to give him, to say this government hath lost a magistrate; this town hath lost a good benefactor; this church hath lost an honorable member; his company hath lost a worthy captain; his family hath lost a loving and kind husband, father, master; the poor have lost a liberal and merciful friend; that nature had furnished him with a sweet and affable disposition and even temper; that Providence had given him a prosperous and flourishing portion of this world's goods; that the love

¹ "The high esteem which God hath of the Death of his Saints, as it was delivered in a sermon preached October 7, 1683, occasioned by the death of the Worshipful John Hull, Esq., who deceased October 1, 1683. By Samuel Willard, Teacher to a church in Boston.

"Numbers 23, 10: 'Let me die the death of the Righteous, and let my last end be like his.'

"'De Imperatore Theodosio fertur magis se gaudere quod membrum ecclesiæ Dei esset, quam caput imperii.' — *Aug.*

"Boston, in New England: printed by Samuel Green for Samuel Sewall, 1683."

and respect of the people had lifted him up to places of honor and preferment. This, this, outshines them all, that he was a saint upon earth ; that he lived like a saint here, and died the precious death of a saint, and now has gone to rest with the saints in glory. This has raised those relics of his above common dust, and made them precious dust. When conscience of duty stimulated me to perform my part of his exequies, and put me upon it to do him honor at his death, methoughts justice required, and envy itself would not nibble at, this character ; and, if the tree be to be known by its fruits, his works shall praise him in the gates," &c.

Annexed to the sermon is a poetical eulogium on Mr. Hull, subscribed by Elijah Corlet.

Mr. Hull was not only a constant attendant on public worship, but took notes of the sermons and lectures which he heard. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington, mentions "several manuscript volumes, in 12mo, containing above two hundred sketches of sermons and Thursday lectures, delivered at the First Church, Boston, between 1655 and 1661, written by him, partly in short-hand and partly at full length," as in his possession in 1840 (*Am. Quarterly Register*).

Although we find recorded the birth of several of his children, but one appears to have survived him. This was his daughter Hannah, born Feb. 14, 1657-8, who, Feb. 28, 1675-6, became the wife of the first Chief Justice Sewall. He, having been a printer and a supervisor of the press in Boston, was now admitted to share in the extensive and lucrative commercial business in which his father-in-law was engaged.

Writing to Daniel Allin, one of his correspondents in London, Dec. 27, 1680, Mr. Hull says: —

“I received your glasses and hats, and have obtained my son-in-law, Samuel Sewall, to take your consignment of them. He hath sold your hats and some glasses; and as he can sell the rest, and receive in, so he will render you an account, and make you a return; and I hope with prudence and faithfulness, for he is both prudent and faithful.”

Other letters furnish evidence of the confidence reposed in Sewall, and of the assistance which he rendered to Mr. Hull in his affairs.

In his business of goldsmith, Hull says he was able to get his “living.” This was before his appointment to coin the money of the colony, which, there is reason to believe, was very profitable. As early as 1661, in writing to his father, he says: “It hath often been of use to me to hear you say you had not come into this wilderness but for your poor children’s sake; and I have found, through grace, the good benefit of that Christian parental forecast.” Mather relates of him, that he was dutiful and tender towards his mother; which Mr. Wilson, the minister, observing, pronounced that God would bless him, and though then poor, yet he should arrive at a great estate. Whatever were the influences which operated to produce it, it is certain that he did arrive at such an estate. He was engaged in various and very extensive business operations. He was one of the princi-

pal merchants on the continent, if not the greatest of his time. His vessels — the “Dove,” commanded by Capt. Thomas Downes; and the “Sea Flower,” by Capt. John Harris” — were constantly engaged in voyages to and from the West Indies, England, and France; while, from year to year, he was interested in numerous “ventures” in beaver and various other commodities in other ships. His orders to his captains were to “see to it that the Lord be worshipped daily, and his sabbath sanctified; all sin and profaneness suppressed, that the Lord’s presence may be with you, and his blessing upon you.” He had several business correspondents in England, as well as in the fur trade at home. He was concerned in the lumber trade in Maine, where Roger Plaisted and the Broughtons were his agents. He owned a large estate and extensive timber-lands near Salmon Falls, and laid out and improved a farm at Penicook, which was afterwards owned by Judge Sewall.

In 1657, he was associated with John Porter and four others, in the purchase, from the sachems of Narragansett, of a large tract of land, bounded by Ninigret’s territory, and embracing Point Judith Neck. It was called the Petaquampscot Purchase. Subsequently, the company bought additional tracts of large extent; after which, they admitted, as partners, William Brenton and Benedict Arnold, both, at different times, governors of Rhode Island. Three hundred acres, set apart for the improvement

of a minister, were afterwards the subject of a protracted litigation between the Presbyterian Torrey and the Episcopal McSparran. A portion was also conveyed by Judge Sewall to Harvard College, the income of which was to be applied to the support and education of youths whose parents might not be of sufficient ability to maintain them, "especially such as shall be sent from Petaquampscot, as well English as Indians." Another portion was given by him for the support of a school-teacher to instruct the youth of the town of Petaquampscot, "as well English as Indians," to read and write the English language, and the rules of grammar. This school was for a long time established at Tower Hill, and, as late as 1823, was removed to Kingston, when the land was sold by order of the Legislature, and the proceeds appropriated for its support. (See Potter's Hist. Narragansett.)

We find, in Mr. Hull's letter-book, repeated references to the Narragansett estate in his correspondence with Governor Arnold, to whom, respecting one of its products, he writes, Dec. 2, 1674: —

"I hope I shall get time, with the Lord's leave, to go up this next summer, and then shall view it: for, until I see it, I do not know whether it be worth sending at all; and, if I do meddle with it, I suppose I shall choose to have it come loose to Boston, and by no means to think of shipping it off thence, unless you and any of the partners will join me in

sending home the *black lead*, either to England or Holland, on a joint account.”¹

In April, 1677, he writes : —

“I have sometimes thought if we, the partners of Point Judith Neck, did fence with a good stone-wall at the north end thereof, that no kind of horses nor cattle might get thereon, and also what other parts thereof westerly were needful, and procure a very good breed of large and fair mares and horses, and that no mongrel breed might come among them, and yourself, Jahleel Brenton, for his father’s interest, or Mrs. Sanford in behalf of them all, and any other partner that is able and willing, we might have a very choice breed for coach-horses, some for the saddle, some for the draught, and, in a few years, might draw off considerable numbers, and ship them for Barbadoes, Nevis, or such parts of the Indies where they would vend. We might have a vessel made for that service, accommodated on purpose to carry off horses to advantage. If Mr. Bull² be accepted a partner, he may assist well in this business.”

That this proposition was carried into effect, may be inferred from a letter of Mr. Hull to William Heiffernan, in which he says : —

“I am informed that you are so shameless that you offered to sell some of my horses. I would have you know that they are, by God’s good providence, mine. Do you bring me in

¹ There can scarcely be a doubt that this “black lead” consisted of specimens of the plumbaginous coal since mined at Portsmouth, in Rhode Island, and now well known as Rhode-Island coal. The use of anthracite coal was not at all known in England or New England in the seventeenth century, unless, possibly, for purely local purposes in the immediate neighborhood of some of the English localities.

² Jireh, son of Governor Bull, who became a large proprietor in Narragansett.

some good security for my money that is justly owing, and I shall be willing to give you some horses, that you shall not need to offer to steal any."

Is it not probable, that from these "fair mares" sprang that celebrated race of ponies, which, in the language of the "North-American Review," "carried fair equestrians from one to another of the many hospitable dwellings scattered over the fields" of ancient Aquidneck in Dean Berkeley's time, and respecting which we have the testimony of the Rev. Dr. McSparan, that they were so remarkable for their fleetness that he had "seen some of them pace a mile in little more than two minutes"?¹

In his capacity as Treasurer of the Colony, his financial skill was called into special requisition; and, if he has not exaggerated in describing the difficulties attending the execution of his official duties, they were frequent and perplexing. When Mr. Winslow was about to go as agent to England, Mr. Hull records, that "all the Court was troubled how to furnish him with money or beaver; for there was nothing in the treasury, the country being in debt one thousand pounds, and what comes in by levies is corn or cattle. But the Lord stirred up the hearts of some few persons to lend a hundred pounds, to be repaid by the next levy." In addition to this,

¹ For an account of the Petaquampscot purchases, of its various proprietors, and the subsequent transfers of their interest therein, see Potter's Hist. of Narragansett, R. I. Hist. Collections, vol. iii.

Mr. Winslow was obliged to accept a contribution from the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" to aid in his support while in London. But this was in the time of Hull's predecessor. During the agency of Bulkley and Stoughton, he frequently alludes, in his correspondence, to the loss he sustained by the transfer of his private funds from the legitimate and more profitable objects of their appropriation to the use of the public.

Writing, June 1676, to "Cousin Thomas Buckman and cousin Daniel Allin," he says: —

"I have so much business forced upon me by the country since our wars began, that I have no time to do as I would; and my former thoughts of coming over being at present dashed, and the times being more than ordinary times of mortality (many dear friends being lately dead), I desire to have a full issue. And therefore, as I did order you, in my letters of June 7, 1675, to take all that money that I had then in my Cousin Allin's hands, so now also I do order you the other money that I added to that since that time."

The following letters in relation to the "outfit and salary" and services of those early diplomatists, which we find in his letter-book, are not without interest in other respects, while they indicate the burdensome labors imposed on the Treasurer: —

"BOSTON, Dec. 22, 1677.

"To Mr. STOUGHTON and Mr. PETER BULKLEY.

"Gent., — I kindly and most humbly salute you, and daily desire to remember you at the Throne of Grace, and hope

you will experience the many prayers here put up for you ; and that we all shall find that the Lord intends to do good to this poor country, whatever trials he exercises us with. Gent., you have now an opportunity, which, it may be, you will not have again the like, to supplicate the king's majesty's grace and favor, and also the Parliament's, for these two things for this poor country, that we may not be oppressed in the exercise of the new religion, nor in our trade. If that we send our fish to Bilboa, and carry the produce thereof into the Straits, at great charge and hazard, and procure fruits, oil, soap, wine, and salt (the bulk of our loadings salt, because that most necessary for us, and always ready to be had at Cadiz) ; and because we have little of the other goods, for our necessity calls not for much, — we must go to England to pay his majesty's customs ; which is as the cutting off our hands and feet as to our trade : we must neither do nor walk any more ; but this orphan plantation will be crushed. If we carry our provisions, which we have raised with great difficulty, because of long winters, &c., to the West Indies, we pay custom for our cotton, wool, and sugar there ; and the bulk of them are sent to England again from hence, and pay custom there a second time. If we might have liberty for our vessels only to trade into the Straits, or a certain number of them every year, though it were but two or three ships in a year, to supply the country with such necessities as those parts afford ; but, for this so remote plantation to be punctually bound up to the acts of trade relating to England, methinks, if represented to a gracious sovereign and compassionate parliament, such a poor orphan plantation might have some exemption from the severity of those acts of trade.

“Gent., I have sent you in this ship, — the ‘Blessing,’ John Phillips master, — eighteen hundred and sixty codfish. There is about seven hundred of them very large fish,

between two and three feet long ; the other under two feet : they are well salted down in the ship's bread-room. Also ten barrels of cranberries and three barrels of samp, as, by the invoice and bills of lading enclosed, you will see more particularly."

The "invoice of fish, cranberries, and samp, shipped on board the 'Blessing,' John Phillips master, on account of the Massachusetts Colony, and consigned to William Stoughton, Esq., and Mr. Peter Bulkley," is as follows : —

" Eighteen hundred and sixty codfish, whereof the very large	
fish cost, with all charges on board	£35 10s. 0d.
Ten barrels of cranberries	6 0 0
Three barrels of samp	7 0 0

" JOHN HULL, *Treasurer.*"

On this occasion, he remits two hundred pounds in money, having previously ordered one hundred pounds to be paid them by Thomas Papillon, his correspondent in London, and "sent sugar to Mr. John Ive to procure another hundred pounds." He adds that "our honored Governor promised me to pay you a hundred pounds ; that will be in all (with the five hundred pounds I procured last year), one thousand pounds." And concludes, "I have no order for more ; neither will I say any thing how difficultly I have procured this, that you may have no discouragement from, Gent., your loving friend and humble servant,

" JOHN HULL."

Nov. 26, 1678, Hull writes to the agents as follows: —

“Honored Gentlemen, — Yourselves were not pleased to give me accounts of the engagements made, and the time of it, for completing your payment for the Province of Maine; nor did the Council or Court do it here; so that, if I should fail them of performance, they must bear their own blame. Neither have I any thing in hand; but understanding, very lately, that there is seven hundred pound to be paid next March, or about that time, I have entreated Mr. John Ive to take up the said sum at interest in London, until I can fully repay him again, if you have not already taken it up: for the Governor Leverett telleth me that he had advised you, in his letters, so to do; and he supposeth it is done, or will be effectually performed by you. Therefore, if you do not herein need my credit, I beseech you spare it; for I am almost afraid least I should crack it: but what contracts you have made, I beseech you please to give me notice, clearly and as speedily as you can, that I may not be over suddenly surprised, whether the money be to be repaid in London or in Boston. The truth is, it is very difficult to get money here; but it is more difficult to get money at London. I hope the good Lord will help me and you through troublesome public business in safety, which I shall account an exceeding great favor.”

At the same time, he writes to Mr. Ive: —

“I understand the country’s occasions to be such, that Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Bulkley, having bought the Province of Maine, will need seven hundred pounds to complete the payment thereof. I do not, by these, contradict my former order, that what you have bought for me I would have you send it;

but I desire you to do me that favor to take up so much money at interest, on behalf of the country, as shall make up what money of mine you have in your hands seven hundred pounds, if said Messrs. Stoughton and Bulkley have not taken it on their own credit: for, if they have, it is well enough. Then you may send me mine; and I shall take care, in the country's behalf, to see them paid when they give me notice of it. I confess I am very bold with you to desire such a great favor of you; but I hope you will not deny it, being it is for public service: but I do oblige myself, that, through the goodness and favor of God, whatever I myself should suffer by it, you shall not lose one penny. Therefore I desire you earnestly, that, in case the said gentlemen have not supplied themselves, or cannot with freedom of their own minds do it, let them not fail. I hope the Lord will help me and them through this troublesome service, and this poor country suffer not through their difficulties."

Giving notice of his negotiation with Ive to the agents, he adds: —

"I do live in hope that the Lord will help myself and you through all these difficulties that we are put upon for this poor people here. Through the Lord's mercy, I have, with some good measure of willingness and cheerfulness, gone through them hitherto, and hope that he will graciously carry me through."

A transaction of a more delicate nature is alluded to in a letter addressed by Hull, June 20, 1683, to Mr. Thomas Glover. It was written during the agency of Dudley and Richards, at a period when the colony was suffering under his majesty's displea-

sure, principally in consequence of the misrepresentations of Edward Randolph. It is related, that, while apprehensive of the loss of the Charter, Cranfield, Governor of New Hampshire, advised the “tendering two thousand guineas for his majesty’s private service,” as a means of securing his favor; and that the Court, agreeing to the proposal, was betrayed by its adviser, whereby reproach was brought upon the Court, and the embarrassment of its agents increased, who complained that they were “ridiculed for the sham thus put upon the country.”

“MR. THO. GLOVER: Sir, — If the agents of this colony, Mr. Joseph Dudley and Mr. John Richards, should, by God’s wise providence, and advice of our best friends among you, find that the having some quantity of money in London would be of any considerable advantage unto this poor country, these are to entreat you to take up five hundred pounds in my behalf, at as low interest as you can, and supply them with it, taking two receipts of them for it, and send one over unto me; and I do hereby oblige myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, to see you honestly and fully repaid, both principal and interest. It is not for their ordinary expenses; for that the Treasurer of the country, Mr. James Russell, will take effectual care about: but, as I may impart to you privately, — what you can easily there guess at, whether it will be advisable, or, if so, whether feasible, — to buy our peaceable enjoyments of men, though the Lord hath freely lent us the so long enjoyment; yet we have not been thankful nor fruitful, but have justly and many a time forfeited all of them. Therefore, sir, in your acquaintance with our agents, if you do think any thing is to be done, I entreat you, if they do

require it, that you will not fail to comply with the sum above written ; and I will be as firmly and am hereby obliged to you as your heart can desire, or as any love of God or world require, to pay you both principal and interest. I leave all to the Lord's good guidance, and humbly, at present, take my leave, who am your real friend and servant,

“JOHN HULL.”

Again, on the same subject, and to the same person, he writes, under date of July 5 : —

“In my letters by Mr. Jenner, of June 20, I entreated you, that, if the agents of our colony, Messrs. Dudley and Richards, find that it would considerably advantage this poor people of God in the wilderness to purchase our quiet, and should, for that end, need money in London, then that yourself would please take up five hundred pound, at as low interest as you could, and supply them with it all if they should need, or so much as that need calleth for. Sir, I now write again unto you that I will repay, and hereby do oblige myself, &c., that I will repay, you fully.”

These letters indicate his agency and interest in public affairs until the close of his life ; the latter being dated but two months before his decease.

He died intestate. In the petition of his administrators to the Court, for settling and passing his accounts, “as Treasurer for the war, and Treasurer of the country,” they say : —

“How faithfully he approved himself, and ready to serve the country both with his estate and in person, is well known to many. Besides his other pains, one of his relations and two of his apprentices did labor much in this service ; for all

which he hath not charged one penny ; — that he was all along many hundred pounds out of his own estate, for the supply of the country in their straits by danger at home, and on occasions of agency in England, and did preserve their credit by his taking up and engaging for considerable sums on their behalf, besides his own disbursements, to the lessening of his trade, &c. ; and that many hundreds of pounds more than he claimed would not have compensated his damage.”

The petition met with prompt attention, and an amicable settlement was effected (November, 1683).

The residence of Mr. Hull was in the southerly part of the town.¹ Writing to his cousin, Daniel Allen, in 1674, he speaks of Mr. James Lloyd² as having taken “a very good place for trade, so that he can sell three times as much as I can,” &c. ; and adds, “I have often told both my uncle and you, that my habitation is greatly disadvantageous for trade ; yet because I always desired a quiet life, and not too much business, it was always best for me.”

Writing to Henry Foxwell, in 1674, he says : “I have ever been averse to strive at the law, never having sued any man or been sued ; and I observe the law to be very much like a lottery, — great charge, little benefit.” His letter-book shows, however, that, consistently with his own methodical habits, he very much insisted on promptness and

¹ That is, as the town then was. His house was nearly opposite the spot where the Massachusetts Historical Society's Hall now stands.

² Ancestor of the Hon. James Lloyd, and of the Long-Island family of that name.

punctuality on the part of others. A specimen of the severity of his rebuke of a dilatory debtor is furnished in the following letter, addressed, March 5, 1679-80, to the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, of Ipswich:—

“ Sir, — I have patiently and a long time waited, in hopes that you would have sent me some part of the money which I, in such a friendly manner, parted with to supply your necessities, and which you so firmly and frequently promised me that I should never lose by so doing ; but I experimentally find that I have waited and hoped in vain. I did indeed think that the ministerial calling you had given up yourself unto did oblige me for to be willing to help you ; and I did also think it would oblige you for to be very true and just in your performance to me. Sir, I do entreat you more seriously to consider thereof. I have been very slow, hitherto, to sue you at the law, because of that dishonor that will thereby come to God by your failure ; but, if you make no great matter of it, I shall take myself bound to make use of that help which God and the country have provided for my just indemnity. Sir, I told you I was willing to remit the great advantage that protested bills of exchange would, in the way of law, allow unto me, and be content with six in the hundred for the forbearance of my money ; whereas, had you performed your covenant to me, I had made thirty pounds on the hundred, which is to me a very considerable loss. Sir, your personal debt unto me (besides Mr. John Hubbard’s obligation) is three hundred forty-seven pounds five shillings, which if you will please to render in unto me, or any considerable part thereof, speedily in money, and give me bond, with good personal security, for the rest, to pay me in some reasonable time, and five pounds in the hundred for the forbearance, truly and justly paid to me every six months, and until

it be paid, and as you shall lessen the principal, so I to abate on the interest, I will yet sit down contented, though it be much to my damage. But if you do not this, or some other thing that is honest, just, and rational, I think you may expect to be called to our next County Court, which I think is the last Tuesday in April next ; and I suppose, sir, you cannot but hold me excused, as doing nothing but what yourself do force me unto. In the mean while, I wait to see what you will please to do, and remain your loving friend,

“JOHN HULL.”

And this to the old historian of New England, then in his sixtieth year, and who, says Dr. Eliot, was “certainly, for many years, the most eminent minister in the county of Essex.” The debt was a formidable one for the time, and was not paid during the life of Hull. In 1685, his administrator offered to cancel it on the payment of two hundred and ten pounds.

Another specimen is a letter addressed to Mr. Joseph Butler, 1672: —

“I cannot but wonder that you should have so much care to run into my debt, and so little conscience to pay. John Plumbe hath not paid me much ; but you not any thing. You know you had very good goods of me, to the value of above three hundred and thirty pounds ; and I have your bond, under seal, to have payed me the whole by June last twelvemonth, which time is now past about eighteen months ; and it is but strange what you think of such actions. You cannot be so stupid as to forget your obligations, or to think this is a way to help you by unrighteous provocation of your patient creditor. Let me not be forced to make an example

of all unrighteous debtors in Connecticut; but show your fidelity and honesty by a speedy payment of him who subscribes himself your friend,

JOHN HULL."

Of the relatives of Mr. Hull in *England*, were his uncle Thomas Parris, and his cousins Sarah and Caroline Parris; a cousin Judith, wife of Daniel Allen; a cousin Thomas Bucknam, who died in 1678, and Mary his wife, afterwards married to Nicholas Brattle; a cousin Edward Hull, of London; and, in *Massachusetts*, cousin¹ Richard Storer, the son of Elizabeth Hull, wife of Robert, who, in 1639, was "allowed to be an inhabitant, and to have a great lot at the mount for three heads" (Boston Records). He also addresses "My loving brother, Joshua Scottow, and loving sister, your wife;" but he appears to mean, here, only brother in the Third Church, of which Scottow was a leading member. Robert, the father of Mr. Hull, died July 28, 1666; Elizabeth, his mother, died May 7, 1646. Mr. Quincy, the father of Mrs. Hull, died at the early age of thirty-three;² Mrs. Quincy, her mother, married, after his death, Moses Paine and Robert Hull, successively, and died in 1654.

Mrs. Sewall, daughter of Capt. Hull, was the ancestor of an honorable and distinguished lineage.

¹ The word *cousin* is used, according to the custom of that time, for *relative*. Richard Storer was his step-brother.

² Farmer.

Mr. Whitman, in his history of the Artillery Company, says that Capt. Hull took minutes of the sermons preached at Court and Artillery Elections, and finds, in his note-book, evidence that "he was a great student and reader in the ancient languages." This can hardly be thought consistent with the circumstances in which he was placed in early life, and the various and absorbing engagements of his later years. He manifested his regard, however, for scholarship, by presenting one hundred pounds to Harvard College.

Of his diary, it may be said that we have none printed of equal value after that of Winthrop and Bradford. Judge Sewall's may be considered a continuation of that of Hull, by whose example it is not improbable that he was induced to commence it.

S O M E

PASSAGES OF GOD'S PROVIDENCE

ABOUT MYSELF AND IN RELATION TO MYSELF;

PENNED DOWN THAT I MAY BE THE MORE MINDFUL OF, AND THANKFUL
FOR, ALL GOD'S DISPENSATIONS TOWARDS ME.¹

DEUT. viii. 2: "Thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee, &c., to humble thee," &c. — Ver. 5: "Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee."

I WAS born in Market Hareborough, in Leicestershire,² in the year 1624, about December 18.

When I was about two years of age, God gave me this special deliverance from death: As I was playing in the streets, a number of pack-horses came along; and the foremost horse struck me down upon my back with his knee; and yet, when I was down, God so ordered it that he held up his foot over my body, and moved not until some of my relations came out of the shop, and took me out of his way.

Also twice I was saved from the danger of scalding and

¹ See APPENDIX A.

² Market Harborough, a market-town and chapelry of England, parish Great Bowden, Co. Leicester, Hundred Gartree, on the north bank of the Welland, which separates it from Northamptonshire. It is situated about eighty-three miles from London, and fourteen miles south-east of Leicester. In the days of Camden, and even lately, it was noted for its beast-fair, where the best horses and colts were sold. The chief manufactory of the place is carpets. The market-day is Tuesday. Number of inhabitants in 1831, 2,272. It was very early noted for its free school.

burning, and escaped with little hurt. And being brought up in Hareborough, at school, until I was near ten years old, my father removed to New England, with whom I came, by the way of Bristol, in the ship "George," Mr. Nicholas Shapley master. We set sail from kingrode, in Bristol, upon the 28th of September, 1635; and by the 7th of November (being the seventh day of the week) we arrived at Boston in New England; where, by the way, we fell upon the sands at the Isle of Sables; and the ship struck upon the ground or sands thirty blows, to the amazement of master and mariners;¹ and, hope of safety being taken away, the sailors² would have hoisted out the long-boat, to have fled for their safety, though they had another pretence. But the all-knowing God would not suffer them, with all their power (and also the help of many passengers), to get out the boat: but it hung by a fluke of the anchor; and God so ordered it, that (after long beating there and much fear) he turned the ship off again into the sea, and the next day gave us a great calm, and, by it, liberty to mend our broken helm, and other things that were amiss.

After we here arrived, my father settled at Boston; and, after a little keeping at school, I was taken from school to help my father plant corn, which I attended for seven years together; and then, by God's good hand, I fell to learning (by the help of my brother), and to practising the trade of a goldsmith, and, through God's help, obtained that ability in it, as I was able to get my living by it.

In the year 1646, the 7th of 3d month, at five in the afternoon, my mother, Elizabeth Hull, was taken away by death, being the fifth day of the week.³

¹ In the margin is the note, "We struck upon the sands the 17th October."

² In the margin is the note, "One special providence in this deliverance."

³ Mrs. Elizabeth Hull, mother of the diarist, was a Widow Storer previous to her marriage with Robert Hull.

1647. In the year 1647, the 11th of 3d month, Mr. John Winthrop married me and my wife Judith, in my own house, being the third day of the week.¹

In the year 1652, 23d of 11th month, upon the sabbath-day, at seven o'clock in the morning, God gave me two daughters at a birth, Elizabeth and Mary. They were baptized the 30th of the same month.²

The 31st of the 11th, at eight in the morning, my daughter Mary died, being the second day of the week.

The first of 12th, about eight in the morning, my daughter Elizabeth died. 1652.

The 29th of 1st month, 1654, my wife's mother died, being the fourth day of the week, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

The 3d of November, 1654, my son, John Hull, was born, at three in the morning, being the sixth day of the week, *like the all day*. *Signifies
Jehovah's grace.*

The 14th of November, my son John died, at half an hour past six in the morning, being the third day of the week.

The good Lord, by all these various changes, make me more his own, and wean me more from myself and all fading comforts, that he alone may be my portion !

1657. The 14th of the 12th month, called February, in the night of that day before the sabbath, betwixt nine and ten o'clock, the Lord gave my wife a safe delivery of my daughter Hannah ; and so speedily, that, though the midwife came within half an hour after she was sent for, yet the child was safely born before she could come.³

¹ Mrs. Judith Hull was daughter of Edmund and Judith Quincy.

² At this point in the Diary is a marginal note in short-hand, the first of several short-hand notes in the Diary and the letter-books. The short-hand used by Hull was that of Theophilus Metcalfe. This note is, "Elizabeth signifies the fulness of God; Mary, exalted." See APPENDIX B.

Passages of short-hand in the MS. will be printed in Italics.

³ In short-hand, in the margin, "*Hannah signifies merciful, taking rest or graciousness.*"

1661. The 1st of the 6th month, being the fifth day of the week, about ten o'clock in the morning, my son Samuel was safely born into the world, and baptized the next sabbath by Mr. John Norton.

The 20th day of said 6th month, at two of the clock in the night, before the day, my son Samuel was taken out of this world, having been pained in the bowels near four days and nights.

1675, 28th February, Mr. Broadstreet married my daughter Hannah to Mr. Samuel Sewall.¹

1677, April 2, Monday, half hour past ten at night, John Sewall was born.

1678, June 11, Tuesday, half an hour after five in the morning, Samuel Sewall was born.²

1647. It pleased God not to let me run on always in my sinful way, the end of which is hell: but, as he brought me to this good land, so he planted me under choice means, —

¹ The famous Judge Sewall. His great-grandfather was a linen-draper of Coventry, England. Henry, the oldest son, sent his only son, Henry, then young, to New England, in 1634. He settled in Newbury, where his father soon followed. His son married Jane, the eldest daughter of Stephen and Alice Dummer, on the 25th of March, 1646. Mr. Dummer and his family, and with them Mr. Sewall and his wife, returned to England, and dwelt a while at Warwiek, and at Bishop Stoke, in Hampshire. At this last-named place, Judge Sewall, the eldest son, was born, on the 28th of March, 1652. The family then removed to Badfly, in the same county, where Major Stephen Sewall, of Salem, was born, 19th August, 1657. The father returned to New England in 1659, and the family followed him, arriving at Boston on the 5th of July, 1661, Samuel then being nine years old. His wife, Hannah, whom it appears, by the entry in the Diary, he married on the 28th of February, 1675-6, and who was the only daughter of her father, died on the 17th of October, 1717. Judge Sewall afterwards married Mrs. Abigail Tilley, on the 29th of October, 1719, who died on the 26th of the following May (1720). He then married Mrs. Mary Gibbs, who survived him. Judge Sewall died on the 1st of January, 1729-30. By his first wife, he had seven sons and seven daughters, of whom two sons and one daughter survived him.

² We copy these entries in the order of the MS.; but from the changes in handwriting, and color of ink, it appears that the next entry, dated 1647, was written at the same time with that of the same date above. The intermediate entries had been inserted on a blank page at various times.

viz., in Boston, under the ministry of Mr. John Cotton, — and, in the end, did make his ministry effectual (by the breathings of his own good Spirit) to beget me to God, and in some measure to increase and build me up in holy fellowship with him. Through his abundant grace, he gave me room in the hearts of his people, so that I was accepted to fellowship with his church, about the 15th of October, 1648.

1648. And he made me also, according to the talent he betruſted me with, in ſome ſmall meaſure ſerviceable to his people, and alſo gave me acceptance and favor in their eyes, and, as a fruit thereof, advancement (I muſt needs ſay) above my deſerts. I was choſen and accepted a corporal, under the command of my honored Major Gibbons, about the 29th of the 3d month, 1648.

After, when the town divided their one military company into four, I was choſen to be (and accepted) a ſergeant, upon the 28th of 4th month, 1652.

1652. Alſo upon occaſion of much counterfeit coin brought in the country, and much loſs accruing in that reſpect (and that did occaſion a ſtoppage of trade), the General Court ordered a mint to be ſet up, and to coin it, bringing it to the ſterling ſtandard for fineneſs, and for weight every ſhilling to be three pennyweight; i. e., 9*d.* at 5*s.* per 3.¹ And they

¹ The meaning of this explanation is this, that, if the English ſhilling were regarded as weighing five ſhillings to the ounce, our New-England ſhilling would be worth ninepence by the English ſtandard. At that ſtandard, the English ſhilling weighed four dwt.; ours weighed but three, and its value, of courſe, was that of three-fourths of an English ſhilling, or ninepence.

The Court had directed (Records, May 31, 1652) that the value ſhould be *two-pence* in a ſhilling leſs than the English: but they alſo permitted the mint-maſter to take one ſhilling out of every twenty for coinage; and this deduction of one-twentieth ſeems to have been added (even with exceſs) to the previous deduction of two-twelfths; for the direction, that each ſhilling ſhall weigh three pennyweight, is made by the Court in the ſame article. Had it not been diſtinctly provided that our ſhilling ſhould weigh three pennyweights, the other directions would have made it a trifle heavier. The English ſtandard, in fact, was not 4 dwt., but 3 dwt. 21 grs. (Kelly), or 93 grains. Deducting from this one-sixth (that the value might be “two-pence in a ſhilling of leſs value than the English coin”), and one-twentieth

made choice of me for that employment; and I chose my friend, Robert Sanderson,¹ to be my partner, to which the Court consented.

1653. In November, Master James Garret set sail, and Master Amos Foord, two ships laden with masts and other merchants' goods, who were both taken by the Dutch; wherein I also lost to the value of one hundred and twenty pounds, in beaver and other furs, &c., which I had shipped in them, bound for London. The loss of my estate will be nothing, if the Lord please to join my soul nearer to himself, and loose it more from creature comforts: my loss will be repaired with advantage. The Lord also hath made up my loss in outward estate. To him be all praise!

1654. About the 2d month, I was, by the South Military Company of Boston, chosen an ensign, and by the Court accepted; only, our company not being settled for some space of time with a captain, I received not commission until the 8th of November in 1655; and the good Lord, who only

for Hull's commission, our coin would have weighed 72.85 grains; an excess of eighty-five hundredths of a grain above three dwt.

In the brief note of Hull's above is the whole history of the difference between Massachusetts currency and the sterling rate, on which so much has unnecessarily been written. The Massachusetts shilling weighed three dwts., while the English was thought to weigh four. It was worth three-fourths of the English, if the English were taken at the standard of five to the ounce. The Massachusetts pound held to the sterling pound the same proportion, of three to four.

To prevent the "clipping" of the coin, the Court ordered, at an early date, that it should be surrounded by a double ring (Records, Oct. 19, 1652). And it does not appear ever to have suffered so severely from this cause as the English silver coinage before the introduction of milled coins, when coin which had weighed four hundred ounces was clipped and sweated, while in circulation, till it was reduced to one hundred and sixteen ounces (Macaulay, chap. 20).

The New-England mint was suppressed, it is supposed, by Andros, soon after Hull's death. The great reform of the English silver currency, under Montague, which made Sir Isaac Newton the fellow-craftsman of John Hull, was wrought in 1696. It was compelled by the great evil of clipped coin, which it prevented by the milled edges of the new coin. The Massachusetts Court had aimed at the same evil by their provision of 1652. For some further notes on the history of this coinage, see APPENDIX C.

¹ Probably Deacon Robert Sanderson, who died at Boston, Oct. 7, 1693.

can, I beseech he would please to make me able and fit for, and faithful in, the place I am called unto, that I may, as with a spirit of wisdom and humility, love, and faithfulness, obey my superiors; so also be exemplary and helpful to my inferiors, and, by him, be kept from temptation and corruption or pollution.

1656, 25th of 2d. I was chosen by the sergeant-major and military officers to keep the record of their proceedings in that court.

1657, 9th of 1st. I was chosen by the town of Boston, though myself unmeet, to be one of the seven men to look after the town's affairs. The Lord make me sensible of the new debt I am hereby obliged in, and give me answerable grace!

About the 2d of October, it pleased the Lord to send the disease of the measles into my family, which took hold of my wife, being great with child; yet it pleased the Lord mercifully to restore her in a week's time to former health. My little cousin Daniel,¹ and my maid, had the same disease, and, through favor, found God's restoring mercy.

14th of 12th. God was pleased safely to deliver my wife of a daughter, and so speedily before the midwife could come to her.

8th of 1st, 1657-8. I was chosen again, for this year, to be one of the Selectmen for the town of Boston. The Lord give me wisdom and humility!

28th of 1st, 1658. My wife went forth to the meeting, after her lying-in, and keeping house six weeks.

I was also chosen by the Selectmen to receive, keep, and dispose of the town's stock or treasure. The Lord make me a faithful steward!

The Lord was pleased to bereave me of one hundred and

¹ DANIEL QUINCY, born Sept. 12, 1650.

twenty pound estate, which I had in Master Garret's ship¹ and the ketch, both which were lost this last year in going for London. The Lord wean my heart more from these outward things, and fix it more upon himself! The loss will then be gain.

Sept. 1. My boy, John Sanderson, complained of his head aching, and took his bed. A strong fever set on him; and, after seventeen days' sore sickness, he departed this life.

7th of 7th, 1658. My cousin Daniel Quincy was also cast upon his sick-bed, within a week after the other, and had also the fever, and was brought very low, but, through God's favor, well recovered by the 17th of 8th. My wife was ill when these first began to be sick: but it pleased God, as they sickened, she strengthened; and he kept her, and my little daughter Hannah, that then sucked upon her, from any spice of the fever, though continually necessitated to be in the same chamber. The Lord make me sensible of his hand, and of the mixtures of his mercy to me therein, though most unworthy!

14th of 8th. I was myself ill, and had a spice of the fever; but the Lord suffered it not to prevail. I only kept the house two days.

8th of 9th. The Lord likewise exercised with sickness my partner, Robert Sanderson, and his son Joseph, but yet was pleased to recover them both. Joseph kept the house about a month, and my partner eighteen days.

24th of 10th. My maid was taken sick as with a strong fever; but the Lord was pleased to restore her to health in three or four days.

¹ In the year 1657, the ship of Capt. Garret, with all the crew and passengers, among whom were Mr. Thomas Mayhew, and also Mr. Jonathan Ince, John Davis, and Nathaniel Pelham, graduates of the College, and others, was lost on a voyage to England. — See note in Hull's public Diary, 4th mo., 1657.

1659, 11th of 2d. My daughter Hannah was taken from her mother's breast, and, through the favor of God, weaned without any trouble; only, about fifteen days after, she did not eat her meat well. Hannah weaned.

21st of 2d. My father was taken very ill.

1st of 6th. My son Samuel safely born, and, 4th of the 6th, baptized.

The Lord made up my lost goods in the two vessels last year by his own secret blessing, though I know not which way. Lost estate made up.

1658-9, 14th of 1st. I was chosen again to be one of the Selectmen for the year ensuing. The Lord assist in the whole service!

1659, 11th of 2d. My wife began to wean her daughter Hannah, and, through favor, well effected it.

21st of 2d. My father fell sick of a fever.¹

22d of 3d. The Lord restored my father to some comfortable measure of health, and he also went to the house of God.

27th of 3d. I went up beyond Medfield, with a surveyor, to lay out a farm of three hundred acres of land, which I bought of Mr. William Colbron.² We did almost accomplish it that day; but I could not catch my horse, and so we were forced to lie in the woods that night. The next morning, we could not find him, and so were forced to come home without him, or else I could not be at home before the sabbath.

30th of 3d. I received intelligence of [that] the ship "White Roach," Capt. Solomon Clarke, commander, Estate lost.

¹ The recurrence of these entries is one of many instances which show that the entries were not all made immediately on the day noted.

² Mr. William Colbron was a ruling elder of the First Church in Boston. He was a man of considerable distinction, holding various civil offices. He died on the 1st of August, 1662.

was taken by the Spaniard, wherein I had in furs, upon my own account, £51. 18s. 7d.

1st of 5th. I received into my house Jeremie Dummer¹ and Samuel Paddy,² to serve me as apprentices eight years. The Lord make me faithful in discharge of this new trust committed to me, and let his blessing be to me and them!

4th of 5th. I went up to Petaquamscot, in Narragansett, upon Monday morning; lodged that night at Providence; next morning went to Warwick, and, the boat being on ground, tarried at Mr. Smith's most of that day. Discoursed with Mr. Gorton,³ who denieth the Lord's Christ. At even, I went to Road Island, lodged at Mr. Wilbore's,⁴ next night at Mr. Porter's.⁵ Upon fifth day morning, went in the boat to Petaquamscot: there also was forced to spend

¹ Born at Newbury, Sept. 14, 1645. One of the Council of Safety, 1689. He was father of the more celebrated Jeremy Dummer, and died May 24, 1718 (Farmer). Atwater's "son-in-law, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer, whom I had a considerable interest in, being formerly my servant." (Hull MS.)

² Son of Deacon William Paddy, who died at Boston, Aug. 24, 1653. Judge Sewall addresses him at Jamaica, Aug. 22, 1685: "Sir, your brother Thomas coming to me with a letter from yourself, ordering him to receive into his own hand what was due to you from Capt. John Hull, my late honored father-in-law, accordingly I looked at your account, and found your debt to be thirteen pounds seven shillings and threepence in one article. Your credit was twenty-eight pounds. So I gave your brother Thomas fourteen pounds twelve shillings and nincpence, the balance, and delivered him a bond for three pounds one shilling, dated Nov. 10, 1668, with some pewter, linen, and earthenware, — all that was left by my father for you. Wherefore I desire that you write me by the next, expressing your approbation of what I have done in this kind on your behalf. Mother Hull remembers her love to you, and her daughter Hannah, my wife, by whom God hath given me five children: four are alive, — two sons, two daughters. Wishing you prosperity, I take leave, who am your friend and servant,
SAMUEL SEWALL."

³ Samuel Gorton, the famous heresiarch. He suffered severely for his contumacy from the governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts, but was now residing in security, without their jurisdiction. He died in 1676. His Life, written by Mr. John Milton Mackie, has been published by Mr. Sparks.

⁴ This Mr. Wilbore may have been Shadrach Wilbore, of Taunton, an important person in that town.

⁵ John Porter, one of the associates in the purchase of Petaquampscot. His encounters with Gorton and Porter must have shocked the Puritan sensibility of Hull.

the sabbath in discourse with Mr. Porter, who holds that all shall be saved. On the next second day afternoon, I came to Mr. Smith's, at Narragansett; next morning, to Warwick; that day, to Patuxet; and on the fourth day, about five o'clock, to my own house, at Boston, through the mercy of God in health, and so likewise found my family.

8th of 9th. My lost horse was brought unto me. He had been taken in an Indian trap, near Taunton.

1659, Dec. 23. [In short-hand.] *I shipped three hogs-heads of furs aboard the ship "Trial." And they start, though with cloudy weather. And they miss of sailing on the 24th. Two days [after], on the 27th of December, I went aboard with them myself, and got them well aboard. Upon the 28th of December, being the fifth day of the week, the ship was anchored in the road all the ; and upon the 2d, being the 2d of the 11th, she set sail thence, at nine of day. At two, however, it came foul weather, and so continued, and cloudy weather until the 12th of 11th.*

1660, 12th of 1st. I was chosen also by the town for this year to be one of the seven Selectmen to order their affairs, and also by the Selectmen to be the town's Treasurer. The Lord give me wisdom and faithfulness!

13th of 2d. [Three lines of undeciphered short-hand.]

18th of 2d. [In short-hand.] *Our private meeting appointed, and kept a day for a day of humiliation, to seek the Lord for the church of God and the people of Christ; for the settling of the articles and peace of our native country, and the preserving of it here.*

Oct. 1, I was admitted into the Artillery Company.

Nov. 21. Our private meeting kept for a day of humiliation [in short-hand] *at our house, for the state of our native country, it being like to come under the bishops; the church countenancing the old liturgy, and formalities again to*

be practised and for our sins here that do meet wrath of God ; and the order and worship of his house ; and for ourselves

Dec. 3, I went to Naticook, lodged at Chelmsford the first night, thence went with a pilot to John Crowell's. The 5th of December, I came safe home. [Eight unintelligible words.]

1660, 5th of 11th. Our family was all partakers of the epidemical cold, but, through favor, very gently. Little Hannah lay two days without any mind to play or food. My wife continued four or five days with a great pain in her head and eyes ; and most of us one or two days, exercised with pain either in the head, eyes, or throat.

Dec. 12th and 15th, I lost two mares, at Braintree, by the murrain.

11th of 1st, 1660-61. I was again chosen by the town to be one of their Selectmen, and by the Selectmen to be the town's Treasurer. The Lord keep a continual sense upon my heart of the weight of these places and my own weakness, and afford his gracious presence !

Being in England, I went to the town¹ where my wife Judith was born, and took her age out of the register : born Sept. 3, 1626.

Sept. 3, 1662. That same day, I arrived safe at my own house.²

1661, 13th of 6th. I went up to Portsmouth, on Road Island ; lodged at Taunton that night ; next day came to Mr. Wilbore's, lodged there 14th and 15th of the same. The 16th day, I returned about one of the clock ; came to Taunton that night, and lodged there. The 17th day, I came to my

¹ Achurch, in Northamptonshire.

² The last entries are of a later date, inserted in a gap in the page.

own house in safety, but found my little babe sick with gripings.

20th of 6th, being the third of the week, in the night before the day, between ten and eleven o'clock, my son Samuel died.

Feb. 10, I went on shipboard, and, 24th of March following, was at London. After about one month's stay there, went down into the country, visited my own kindred and town, and went also as far as Hull to see my cousin ^{1662.} Hoar.¹ Returned safe to London, despatched my business there, and, through the good hand of God, arrived again at my own home the 3d of September, and found all in health. The good Lord make me truly thankful!

Several children I brought over, and all in health, and so disposed of them, and providentially missed the having of one Sam. Gaylor, who was after placed with Master Clark, and fell overboard, and was lost by the way.

1663, 2d of 1st, I was again chosen one of the seven Selectmen for the town of Boston, and by them for the Treasurer. The Lord make me able and faithful!

20th of 3d. Our private meeting kept a day of humiliation at our house.

1st of 4th. I was chosen ensign-bearer to the Artillery Company at Boston, under Major-General Leverett.

1663. 5th of 11th, 2d of 12th, I went to Mr. Flint's² to join in fasting and praises.

10 of 12. [In short-hand.] *I kept myself for my sins, and the people of God and his church; that, both confessing my own sins, and my family's, and the country's, and my native country's, desiring mercy, and with . . . the Lord, to*

¹ Leonard Hoar, afterwards President of Harvard College. Hull writes, Aug. 22, 1672: "Cousin Dr. Hoar is safely arrived." His wife was said to be a "daughter of Lord Lisle."

² Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree, who married a sister of President Hoar.

myself, to my family, and supply of his mercy. For the country, submission to God's ordinance ; of the country from ss. gulling us by fomenting jealousy, with no cause, of God's mercy, and peace and preservation of of the Commonwealth in the church to the generation &c.¹

It pleased God to continue health in my family all this last year, and also not to be wanting in success to my endeavors and estate.

1664, 5th of 3d. We heard of the safe arrival of all the ships that sailed hence for England last year, and therein of the Lord's gracious preservation of the estates of his poor, despised people.

27th of 3d. The Lord brought in a small vessel, sent out by myself and others last winter for Alicant ; and though several Turks' men-of-war of great force came on board them, and brake up their hold, yet they let them go safely, without robbing or spoiling them.

6th, 4th, I was chosen lieutenant to the Artillery Company.

The Lord brought in safe the several vessels that I had adventures in.

1664, Oct. 10, went up to Petaquamscot. [In short-hand.] *Lodged at Seekonk the first day ; at Warwick, at Mrs. Smith's, the second day ; at my own house the third day. 16th, spoke to the people at my own house ; and upon 19th day, in the morning, returned safe home, and found all well.*

¹ This entry was made the year after Bradstreet and Norton's return, some months after Mr. Norton's death. (See Hull's public Diary.) They had been sent abroad as commissioners to the new king, in the hope of removing any prejudices against the colony, and of retaining the charter. They were favorably received, and returned, arriving Sept. 3, 1662, with an answer which they seem to have thought satisfactory. But, says Hutchinson, "they met with the fate of most agents ever since." It is evident, from the authorities he cites, that a great ferment resulted, and that Mr. Norton became very unpopular. Hull had been the companion of Bradstreet and Norton in their voyage out and home. He had doubtless conferred largely with them on their mission, and partook of their views. He is therefore disposed to speak harshly of those who "foment jealousy without cause."

December, Capt. Scarlett arrived, and brought news of the safety of Master Lord, Master Hawes, Master Peirce, in England, in whom I had considerable adventures.

1st of 11th. I had a sore toe, which hindered me from going abroad three weeks; and yet, in my retirement, found much favor from God and love from friends. My friend, Capt. Davis, came three or four times to dress it: the other help was from my loving wife.

14th, 11th. Thomas Parriss went in Master B. Gillum's¹ ship to Barbadoes.

1665, 6th, 1st. The Lord brought in the ketch "Adventure," Peter Hubart, master, whereof I was part owner.

8th, 2d. Also the ketch "Friendship," Edward Howard, master.

17th, 2d, also the ship "Providence," Joseph Penwill, master. In the one, Master Knight was sent to manage; and the other, Nicholas Opie. The ship "Providence," with sore tempest, was forced to cut their masts; and Nicholas Opie washed overboard and lost, with one other man. The Lord preserved the rest, and brought them to Nevis, and returned them safe home.

1665, Aug. 1. About this time, I sent a considerable return home to London in Capt. Peirce, which the Lord brought safe to London. Master Gillam, in which also I had a considerable adventure, though not so much as in the other, was taken by a man-of-war. My returns likewise by Capt. Lock went safe.

Oct. 28, I freighted one-fourth part of a small vessel, and sent it to Swanzy, under management of Rowland Bevans.

1666, May. Pleased God to send in safe the ship "Providence," and the ketch "Exchange," and the ketch "Friendship," each being one-fourth mine.

¹ Benjamin Gillam was a noted shipmaster of Boston.

June. It pleased God to send in the "Society," from London, and to bring me news of my Uncle Parriss's¹ health, and all his, in the late great plague, when I had also formerly received tidings he was dead. Several goods also Master Clark now brought me, and especially some powder, which I exceedingly wanted.

July 28, about four in afternoon, the Lord tried me by calling for my honored father, Robert Hull, home to himself, being two days before taken with a flux, and then with violent cramp in his legs and burning at his heart, yet bore all with sweet patience and thankfulness; and though I am very loath to part, yet do desire willingly and thankfully to resign him up to his and my good Father's will, and to the bosom of his and my dear Lord Jesus, where I have, through grace, good hope to be again with him (in God's time) for ever.

15th of 6th. Our private meeting kept at our house a day of humiliation to show their sympathy with me, and to implore the Lord for his poor people here to direct us and our rulers, &c., and for his poor, suffering saints in England.

Oct. 30, I sent to England a considerable adventure in sundry ships, Master Clark, Master Peirce, &c. And it pleased the Lord all that I sent arrived safe, and came to a good market. The Lord make me thankful!²

Dec 11, I sent like a considerable adventure by both Master Prouts, and Capt. Avis, and Master Gillam. We hear nothing of Capt. Avis's arrival, where I shall lose, if he be lost, near two hundred pounds.²

10th, 11th. Sam. Paddy fell sick of the small-pox. He

¹ Thomas Parriss, of London, to whom many of his commercial letters are addressed.

² The MS. shows that both these entries were added at a different date from the sentences with which they are connected.

went to his mother's house ; but there I provided for him. The Lord was pleased to restore him in three weeks' time.

5th, 12th. Joseph Green had a very few.

6th, 12th. Jer. Dummer fell ill of the same disease ; restored also in about three weeks' time. Deborah Bell had a few, and, about a month after, had them pretty full.

[One line of cipher.]

1666-7. 1st, 1st. My wife taken ill of the small-pox, having had about twelve days' trouble with a hot humor in her neck and shoulders ; and, together with the pox which came [cipher], she had much trouble in her head by vapors from matrix and spleen, much impeding sleep, oftentimes fainting of spirits, beating of the heart.

1st, 2d. Daniel and Hannah fell sick of the small-pox ; only had but very few.

15th, 2d. My wife, through the mercy of God, was restored to wonted health, and Daniel and Hannah likewise. The Lord enlarge my heart, and all mine, with praise to his great name !

3d of 3d month, Capt. Bevans came in, with our returns from Swanzy.

22d of 3d month, some friends, with Mrs. Reynor's,¹ kept a day of fast at my house.

Sept. 7, it pleased the Council to comply with the Lord Willoughby's letters, and to victual Capt. Henry Ady, one of his Majesty's frigates. Mr. Deputy Willoughby² and Major-General entreated me to undertake one $\frac{1}{4}$ part, which came to about a hundred and ten pounds money. I did perform it ; and the Lord Willoughby did very punctually pay,

¹ Probably wife of Rev. John Reynor, of Plymouth and Dover, whose son, Rev. John Reynor, married Judith Quincy, daughter of the second Edmund Quincy. She died in 1679, aged twenty-three. Mr. Reynor died Dec. 21, 1676, not at Braintree, as stated by Farmer, but at Dover. It is supposed he got some great cold in attending the army when they followed the Eastern Indians (Hull MS.).

² See note to Hull's public diary, 4th of 2d, 1671.

in sugars and cotton, to Mr. Johnson, our agent, who shipped the most part of them in Capt. Allin and young Master Graffton. Capt. Allin cast ashore on Cape Cod ; Master Graffton burnt at Salem ; and so all lost. The good Lord sanctify it to me and all concerned !

1667. 16th, 9th. God brought in our ship "Providence," from Bristol. 18th. Also ship "Swan," from London ; and, in ten days' time, Capt. Scarlett's, Master Clark's, and several other vessels, when we were almost out of hope of seeing any ship from London this year. Master Clark was kept off six days by N.W. upon the coast, that we began to fear his safety. It was a very temperate winter, that, by Feb. 5, the ships were all laden, and gone again.

Feb. 5. Went also out Master Wing, in the "Hopewell," in which I held one-third, with Mr. Usher and Mr. Willoughby ; but she would not bear any sail, but, through mercy, put in again to New Plymouth, and, upon 19th instant, returned safe to Boston.

1668, I was left out from being a Selectman.

26th, 2d. I was chosen by the town of Wenham to be their deputy this year ; and, after much persuasion of Mr. Newman, Mr. Cobbitt,¹ and sundry other friends, I did accept the service.

2d and 4th of 3d. Came in several vessels safe from England, wherein I had goods.

This last winter, our ship "Providence," William Greenough,² master, was cast away on the French shore, Jean de Luce, bound for Bilboa. One-fourth of her was mine, and about fourteen pounds adventure in cocoa and tobacco. But it pleased God to preserve ketch "Friendship" at the same time and voyage, being half mine, and returned well from Bilboa.

¹ Rev. Antipas Newman, of Wenham, and Rev. Thomas Cobbett, of Ipswich.

² Capt. William Greenough, of Boston.

24th of 4th. Said ketch "Friendship" and ship "Desire" sailed hence, one for Barbadoes, other for Jamaica; both half mine, vessels and loading.

1669, 11th month. Master John Alden¹ went for England, in the ketch "Friendship," being three-fourths mine; came well to West Chester; and, through Mr. Alden's desire to expedite, he dealt with a man wanting honesty, who hindered him much time, and lost me much estate, — near five hundred pounds damage and loss to me, the Bermuda Company seizing that sort of tobacco. The vessel returned not home until May, 1671.

1669. Nov. 16, I went from my own house on board Master Clarke's ship, for to go to London to settle all former accounts with my uncle, and all persons with whom I had dealing.

1st, 11th. I arrived at Plymouth, and rode by post to London, where I came safe to my uncle's house, 5th of 11th, and was received and entertained during my stay in London with much love and courtesy. The first sabbath, I heard, and communicated at the Lord's table with, Dr. John Owen,² and, during my continuance there, found very much love and respect from him, as also from Mr. John Collins.³ I tarried in London four sabbaths after the 10th of May; whereafter, according to act of Parliament, none were to meet for any religious worship, unless according to that

¹ John Alden, son of the "Pilgrim" John, of Plymouth, "went from Duxbury to Boston as early as 1659, and died 14th March, 1702" (Farmer).

² The famous Nonconformist divine. He died Aug. 24, 1683. Strenuous efforts were made to induce him to come to New England, and take charge of the church at Boston, of which Mr. Norton had been pastor. Aug. 3, 1665. "Our church sent to Dr. Owen." June 9, 1666. "Came in Mr. Clark's ship; brought us word of Dr. John Owen's likely coming hither" (Public Diary of *Hull*).

³ A graduate of Harvard. He went to England in the time of the civil war. He was chaplain in Gen. Monk's army when he marched from Scotland to England. He was a zealous Presbyterian, and minister of a church in London and at Pinner's Hall. "Mighty in the Scriptures, of an excellent natural temper, very charitable to all good men, and died, universally lamented, Dec. 3, 1687" (Neal).

which was in the liturgy of England. If there were above five persons of sixteen years old, it was condemned as an unlawful conventicle, and great penalties to be inflicted, — twenty pounds for the preacher, twenty pounds for the house-owner, five shillings every hearer for the first offence, and all these doubled after the first time ; yet it pleased God the ministers preached, and the people heard, and no great molestation. With much sea-sickness in the voyage, and sudden and speedy great journey from Plymouth to London, I was ill at London ; but it pleased God to return my health gradually and quickly.

1670, 8th of 4th, I came away from London. My uncle accompanied me to Gravesend. 10th of 4th, in the evening, we were at the Downs. 11th, at six o'clock, afternoon, sailed thence with a fair wind till we were gone one hundred leagues west of the Lizard ; and, upon the 9th of July, met a Virginia ship going for Bristol, by whom we wrote to London. 10th of 5th, with two Flushingers, men-of-war ; but they offered us no injury. 3d of 6th, I came safe home, and found my wife, daughter, servants, and all in health and safety. The good Lord make me thankful, humble, and fruitful !

The summer had been very dry in our colony.

1671, I was chosen by the town of Westfield for their deputy for the General Court. I was also chosen by the Artillery Company for their captain. The Lord make me diligent and humble !

The Lord brought all the vessels I was concerned in this year in safety. But, upon 23d of 9th, John Harris, with his ketch, being gone out to sea, and about seven leagues eastward of Cape Cod, came back again, anchored by Cape Cod, but could not reach the harbor, and was put on shore on the Gurnet Beach about four o'clock in the morning.

The men kept their vessel till day, and came all safe on shore, and saved much of the goods ; but the vessel not to be got off. One-half of the vessel and cargo was mine. The Lord give me spiritual and heavenly treasure, when he taketh from me earthly ! and that will be a good exchange.

1672, I was chosen again by the said town of Westfield to be their deputy at the General Court this year.

19th of 5th. God spared my warehouse, and what I had in it, being exceeding hot with the fire ; and none durst adventure to cool it with water, because of the powder that was in it (of the country's most, some also of the town's, and my own), until we had cut through the roof, and taken out the powder. It was when Mr. Hill, Mr. Walley's houses, &c., were burned.

17th of 6th. This summer I buried a servant-man, John Negus ; otherwise, my family hath been in good health ever since the year 1657.

This winter, the ships that went home to London were many of them taken by the Dutch capers. I lost, in Master Hilton, Master Jonas Clark, and Thomas Moore, six hundred and forty pounds. God mixeth his mercies and chastisements, that we may neither be tempted to faint or to despise. The other ships, Master Greenough and Master Smith, that were of the greatest importance to the public, and also to my own private concern, were mercifully kept from all danger. Also I lost my ketch, three-fourths, with her lading, from Virginia, taken by the Dutch from John Alden, worth about two hundred pounds.

1673. I was again this year chosen and entreated by the town of Westfield to serve as their deputy at the General Court.

The Lord brought in Master Smith, Master Greenough, and Master Prout, safe ; though many vessels were taken by the Dutch this year also.

We had good health in our family all this year. Blessed be the Lord!

December. ———¹ Cook ² died ; and I was appointed by the Court to succeed him.

November, I accepted Samuel Clark, son of Jonas Clark, as an apprentice for eight years.

1675, June 25, I was appointed by the Council to be one of the Committee for the war, and also Treasurer for the war.

Feb. 28, being Monday, Mr. Broadstreet married my daughter Hannah to Samuel Sewall, in the evening.

2d, 2d, being Monday, at ten o'clock at night, my grandchild, John Sewall, was safely born into the world.³

1676, 15th of 3d. I was chosen by the General Court to be the Country Treasurer.

1677, 2, 2. John Sewall was born Monday, at ten o'clock at night.

1677, 23d of 3d. I was chosen by the country to be the Treasurer.

1678, 8th of 3d. I was chosen again by the country to be their Treasurer.

June 4, on the third day of the week, in the morning, half an hour before six o'clock, Samuel Sewall was safely born.

¹ Illegible in MS.

² Mr. Hull was appointed to succeed Lieut. Richard Cooke, as lieutenant to Capt. Wm. Hudson. Mr. Cooke died in December, 1673. He was a tailor in Boston, was admitted to the fellowship of the First Church in that town in 1634, and took the freeman's oath in 1635. He held several offices, both military and civil; represented the town of Dover in 1670 in the General Court. He was father and grandfather to the two celebrated Elisha Cookes, of Boston. In his will, he left a legacy to Harvard College.

³ This entry occurs again in its place.

Sept. 10, John Sewall had a vomiting, continuing that day and the night following, and then taken with convulsion fits, — about seventeen sore fits. He died about twelve o'clock, before the 12th of September.

Sept. 23, Seth Shove¹ began to complain of illness in his head.

Sept. 25, John Alcock was taken sick of the small-pox. The tenth night he was light-headed, and was brought very low.

Oct. 12, Elizabeth Alcock² taken sick of the small-pox. She had but few, and went about again in about ten days.

Oct. 21, Samuel Clark³ taken with small-pox. The eighth day began to be light-headed, and needed two or three to hold him in bed.

Oct. 26, Timothy Dwight taken with the same disease.

Oct. 27, Hannah Estwick also.

Oct. 29, son Sewall taken sick of the same disease.

Nov. 5, John Newman went to Roger Ind.

Nov. 20, Seth Shove taken sick of the small-pox.

James Elson was taken by the Algerines, where I lost only my eighth part of the ship; as see my ledger, C, fol. 54, £113. 17s. 10d., though it might be worth more, £82. 2s. 2d.

1679, May 18, I was also again chosen by the country to be their Treasurer.

1680, May 18, I was also chosen by the country for an Assistant, and released my former service of Treasurer. The good Lord grant me prudence, wisdom, judgment, courage, &c.!

¹ This Seth Shove was son of Rev. George Shove, of Taunton. He graduated at Harvard College; was ordained 13th October, 1697; and settled at Danbury, Conn. He died on the 3d of December, 1735, aged about sixty-eight.

² John and Elizabeth Alcock were orphan children of Dr. John Alcock, of Roxbury.

³ Samuel Clark was son of Jonas Clark, of Boston.

1679, April 11, received news that the pink "Charles" was cast away at Christophers, 31st of 11th last. Eleazar Davenport, the master of her, died Oct. 8. Samuel Davenport next died, Dec. 6. Robert Thorn brought her into Christophers, Dec. 15. One-fourth part of the pink and cargo the Lord saw meet to take away from me. Also the ketch "Seaflower," John Harris, master, went for Jamaica; and we have had no news of her. One-fourth part of her was also mine.

Feb. 2, Hannah Sewall was safely born into the world, being the third day of the week, about midnight.

11th of 3d, '81. I was chosen again to be an Assistant.

Elizabeth Sewall was safely born into the world, Dec. 29, 1681, a little after four o'clock in the afternoon.

'82, 24th of 3d. I was chosen again to be an Assistant.

JOHN HULL'S DIARY

OF

PUBLIC OCCURRENCES.

S O M E

OBSERVABLE PASSAGES OF PROVIDENCE

TOWARD THE COUNTRY,

AND SPECIALLY IN THESE PARTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY; NOTED FOR THE HELP OF MY OWN MEMORY, WHEREIN, IF ANY THING SHOULD NOT BE SO EXACTLY PENNED, FOR METHOD OR TIME, LET IT BE IMPUTED TO THE IGNORANCE AND WEAKNESS OF THE PENMAN, IF IT SHOULD EVER COME TO THE SIGHT OF ANY OTHER.

THE state of England, our dear native country, being by the usurpation of the bishops under great declinings, both civil and chiefly ecclesiastical; God's faithful ministers silenced, sentenced also to imprisonment and banishment, if they would not conform to read the king's and bishops' edicts granting liberty for profanation of the Lord's day, &c.; and also imposing upon the ministry many Popish injunctions, which proved a snare unto some honest minds, and a burden unsupportable to many others, both ministers and people, whose hearts God stirred up rather to endure a voluntary exile from their native soil, and to hazard the loss of all their sweet outward comforts and relations, than to defile their consciences and insnare themselves by hold- 1628. ing their rich revenues: God therefore moved the hearts of many to transport themselves far off beyond the seas, into this our New England, and brought, year after year, such as might

be fit materials for a Commonwealth in all respects, and among others some of choicest use both for ministry and magistracy, military men, seamen, tradesmen, &c., and of large estates and free spirits, to spend and be spent for the advancement of this work that the Lord had to perform, and to make this wilderness as Babylon was once to Israel, as a wine-cellar for Christ to refresh his spouse in. He also made this Babylon like a Jerusalem; and our native England, seeing so many persons, which were no babes nor windy-headed men, to forsake all to embrace such a wilderness condition, it caused them to listen what might be the reason. And it so pleased God, by their voluntary banishment and their writings from home, to awaken so many hearts, as that in few years the whole nation thought it was high time to think of a general reformation, and were willing to enter into a war (though such a formidable means yet) when no other way could gain the desired end.

When hither the Lord had brought any considerable number, they gathered into several churches, according to gospel rules, having pastor, teacher, ruling elders, and deacons, to every church, or as many of these as their supplies would admit of.

Also the civil government framed so as none might bear any weighty office, civil or military, but such as were members of some particular church, gathered and in order; neither might any elect unto such choice employment but members of churches, who had also sworn fealty to the Commonwealth. The churches and civil state thus mutually embracing and succoring each other, the Lord hath been pleased to bless with great prosperity and success, increasing and multiplying, protecting and defending from all mischievous contrivances, supplying and furnishing with all necessities, maugre all adversaries; though also chastening

and trying, nurturing, lopping, and pruning his poor children, by his own fatherly hand, for their good, from one year to another.

A brief hint of some of God's dispensations, as he enables, we may mention in the following discourse: —

1634. The churches gathered were many, but yet were upon the increasing hand, though under reproach and derision among profane persons, upon some of which the Lord gave signal testimonies, though others he suffered according to his wonted long patience.

There was one Henry Bull and his company in a vessel, or small ship, that did deride the churches of Christ, in our harbor; and when they came to Marblehead, a place not far distant, but out of command of our fortifications, they, in derision, acted the gathering of a church and calling officers. But, as the apostle saith, “Be not deceived: God is not mocked.” They putting to sea, they were forced by tempest upon the shore among the more savage Indians, by whom they were slain.

Remarkable
judgments
upon the
churches'
enemies.

Another ship riding in the harbor, whose seamen were very profane in deriding the country, who said they would cast their provisions into the sea rather than supply such Roundheads, it pleased the Lord to leave them to take so little care of themselves, as, whether in their drink or by other accident, I know not, they blew up their ship with their own gunpowder. The ship was called the “Marie Rose.” So was also another vessel, that behaved themselves much after the same manner.

1634, September. A great wind hurricane, first at north-east, then at north-west: by reason thereof, two tides in six hours. The Indian corn much blown down and spoiled therewith.

1637. The great goodness of God was also seen in saving

his people from the old stratagem of Satan, with which he vexes the church, and sought now to crush it in the bud ;

Errors
broached,
and yet
soon dis-
pelled. and that was by sowing the seeds of error in the hearts of some that was of very good esteem, and who before had been fellow-laborers to help forward the work of God in private, as others the faithful ministers did in public. But, when this evil seed sprang up, they began secretly to undermine the pure doctrine of the gospel delivered in public, and to put their senses and meanings to be the meaning of their ministers ; making their weak brethren and sisters, and also judicious and godly persons in neighbor towns, to begin to think amiss of the holy and reverend Mr. John Cotton, then teacher of Boston church. But, when their errors came to be broached, he fully cleared himself and his doctrine from any taste of their poisonous and unwholesome liquor, and so bore witness to the truths then under labor, and against their corrupt tenets, that, through the favor of God, settled his own church and discovered the errorists ; and, being found persisters in dangerous and fundamental errors, they were sent out of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and purchased themselves a place called Rhode Island. Yet, after they were so far removed (viz., about seventy miles), the Rev. Mr. Cotton, and the church of Boston, ceased not for some years to send letters, and some of their able and godly brethren, to endeavor their reduction ; and some few were regained. These errorists had so painted over with fair colors their tenets, that they bred much disputation in all sorts, that the elders of the several churches saw a need of a synodical meeting to discuss and clear matters ; which was consented to, and held at Cambridge, and, by the good blessing of God, truth gained, and error lost. Many truths were then more fully understood by elders and private Christians : the hearts of both were after

Heretics
banished.

more firmly united. The errors broached were very many ; but I shall not write them, nor mention the persons.

The Lord also tried the faith and courage of his people, so lately come into this wilderness, with permitting some of the Indians to commit some villanies and outrage against the English in the Colony of Connecticut : a savage people, called Pequots, who were more warlike than <sup>Indian
savage
cruelties.</sup> other Indians, and therefore a terror to their enemies the other Indians. These Pequots took two or three English maidens ; but them they hurt not. But, they having taken some English men, they tied them to trees, making great fires by them, roasting them alive, and cutting off their flesh and broiling of it, and clapping it to the place again ; also throwing hot coals upon the raw and mangled places ; and the poor distressed souls crying, in this time of trouble, to God to help them for his Christ's sake. The Pequots would dance about them, and insult, "Where is your God and Christ's help now ?" &c. The English, after they <sup>War with
the Indians.</sup> had sought in vain to have these murderers delivered up, they sent out some forces, about ——— men from the Massachusetts, under the command of Capt. Underhill, and about ——— from Connecticut, under the command of ———,¹ into whose hand the Lord delivered these insulting wretches, that though our English forces were so few in number, yet by God's assistance they rooted out the nation of the Pequots, save a few that escaped, who still own themselves as vassals to the English. It was credibly reported that these Indians had gotten such a power from Satan, by God's permission, that an arrow should not pierce their skin ; but the Lord per-

¹ These blanks are in the MS. Capt. Underhill was sent to Saybrook by Gov. Vane, with twenty men, in advance of the Massachusetts forces, which, under several leaders, consisted of about one hundred and twenty men ; the number being variously stated by different writers. Connecticut furnished ninety men, under the command of Capt. John Mason.

mitted not Satan to hinder the penetration of the swords and bullets of the English.

1638. The 1st of the 4th month, about noon, was a very great and general earthquake. The vessels upon the river, and the goods that were in the said ships, moved much. Many upon the land could scarcely stand upright.

Sept. 14. Mr. John Harvard departed this life, the founder of Harvard College. He gave above £700 towards the same.

1639. We began to print at Cambridge.¹

1642. A public library given to Harvard College.

1643. The four colonies entered into a combination to assist and strengthen the hands of each other.

1646. April 11, died Mr. John Oliver, one of choice parts, endued with variety of able gifts for the generation ; but God took him away in youth, to the saddening of very many godly hearts and threatening of the rising generation.

A second synod at Cambridge, where was debated the power of the magistrate in matters of religion ; 2d, the nature and power of synods.

Also some began to preach to the Indians in their own language, especially Mr. John Eliot.

1647, 5th of 7th. Mr. Thomas Hooker died, pastor of Hartford church.

1648. A third synod at Cambridge, who drew the platform of church discipline.

Jan. 30. Great Charles the First was beheaded upon Tuesday, about two o'clock, — a very solemn and strange act ; and God alone can work good by so great a change, both to the nation and to the posterity of the king.

¹ Stephen Daye, having, by the direction of the magistrates and elders, erected the press, and prepared the other parts of the apparatus, began business in the first month of 1639. (Winthrop.)

March 26, '48-9. Our honored Governor, Mr. John Winthrop, departed this life, — a man of great humility and piety, an excellent statesman, well skilled in the law, and of a public spirit.

Sept. 3 ('50). A great victory over the Scots at Dunbar.

24th, 6th, 1649. Mr. Thomas Shepherd, pastor of Cambridge church, died, — a zealous and pious preacher.

Jan. 1, 1650. Charles the Second was crowned king in Scotland.

22d July ('51). Mr. Christopher Love¹ beheaded.

22d August. Charles the Second erected his standard at Worcester.

Sept. 3 ('51). A victory obtained over the Scots army at Worcester.

20th of 2d, 1653. The parliament was dissolved by the army. 4th of 4th, a parliament chosen by General Cromwell.

23d December, 1652. The reverend teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, viz., Mr. John Cotton, departed this life, after he had kept his house, by reason of weakness, about five weeks ;² a man so exceedingly useful and eminent, that the loss seems unparalleled with respect to the living, and no less gain to the dead. Yet God was pleased, in his infinite mercy, to make a gracious and rich supply to this poor church, by sending, 6th, 1st, 1652-3, Mr. John Norton, from Ipswich, who continued with us three years and upward, — 1656, July 23 ; laboring in God's work, and joined in a teacherly office with us.

¹ Rector of St. Ann's, Aldersgate, London, and St. Lawrence, Jewry, author of three volumes of sermons. He was accused of corresponding with the king against Cromwell's government. Several parishes and fifty-four ministers interceded in vain in his behalf.

² In the margin is the note, "A strange comet in the heavens began its motion with his sickness, and ended with his death."

1652. In 12th month, there came intelligence of a plot between the Dutch and the Indians to cut off all the English ; and great probability there was of the truth of it, though not full proof. The Commissioners for the Colonies met <sup>Plot of
Indians
and Dutch.</sup> at Boston, and sat debating and examining the case some space of time ; and also many other grievances were presented by the western colonies, which they had received from the Dutch ; and a war urged, and almost consented unto. But as something that might further clear the righteousness of the war, or prevent it, there was two commissioners sent to the Monhatos, — viz., Capt. John Leveret and Mr. William Davis, — whose return tended to encourage to war. But God's overruling and guiding hand prevented it ; and the consultation brake up, though not without great discontent to sundry, and such as tended to disunite the colonies of the west from the Bay. Generally, the elders of churches, and most of the magistrates in the Bay, was against the war.

1653, 14th, 1st. A great fire in Boston.

31st, 5th. Mr. Thomas Dudley¹ died.

About Oct. 30, 1653, sundry ships went to England ; among whom, two were taken by the Dutch ; and several in Boston lost much of their estate, and some others also, both in England and other parts of this country.

In the spring, about 1st of 3d, 1654, came intelligence from England of four ships, with a hundred and twenty soldiers, under the command of Major Robert Sedgwicke² and

¹ Governor of Massachusetts.

² Admitted freeman 1637. He resided in Charlestown, and was chosen captain the same year. Johnson says he was "nurst up in London's artillery garden, and furthered with fifteen years' experience in New England." He assisted in forming "the military of Massachusetts" (afterwards known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company) in 1639 ; was ordered "to take care of the castle this year," in 1641. He was several years a deputy from Charlestown, and much engaged in public affairs. In 1645, he united with Emanuel Downing and others in a petition

Capt. John Leveret,¹ who had received commission to root out the Dutch, if they would not submit to the power and government of England.

They arrived here (after a long voyage of twelve weeks, and their admiral-ship and soldiers, in regard of leakiness and some other miscarriages, was sent back again) the ^{1654.} 5th of 4th, 1654. And suddenly a General Court was called, and letters from the Lord Protector (Oliver Cromwell) perused, and the commission of those gentlemen viewed, and their desires debated upon; which was granted thus far, viz., a liberty to gain and entertain five hundred volunteers, but not liberty to press. But, before they had obtained much above one hundred men, Master Garret came in with a ship from England, and brought news of a ^{Remarkable providence to prevent war.} peace concluded and proclaimed between England and Holland; which did cause that intended expedition to be wholly laid aside. But, after some few days' stay of these ships, they adventured upon another design, for the French; and, ^{1645.} about the 15th of September, returned to Boston again, with prosperous success, having outed the French in three several forts, — one called St. John's Fort; another, ^{French forts taken.} Port Riall; a third, Panobscot; — and took the wealth

for the amelioration of the laws against the Anabaptists, but without success. In "Good News from New England," the author says, —

"Prest to oppose haters of peace, with guide
Of officers, three regiments abide.
In Middlesex, seven ensigns are displayed,
There disciplined by Major SEDGWICK'S aid."

Peace having been concluded, the expedition against the Dutch, at New York, was abandoned; but Sedgwick, being advanced to the rank of major-general, was employed by Cromwell in the expedition against the West Indies, "succeeded Gen. Fortescue as Governor of Jamaica, and died 24th June, 1656." He appeared to Carlyle "a very brave, zealous, and pious man;" and his letters in Thurloe, "of all others the best worth reading" on the subject of this expedition. He was the ancestor of the Sedgwick family of Massachusetts. (Lord's Lempriere; Carlyle's Cromwell, ii. 192, 198; Colony Records.)

¹ Afterwards Governor of Massachusetts.

of these places, consisting in beaver and moose and other furs, and plate, &c. These aforesaid ships, by the 14th of November, was freighted with masts and merchandise goods and passengers, and upon putting to [sea?] sail for England.

In this interim, between September and November, there was an expedition against Nenegret, an Indian sagamore,

An expedition
against
the Indians.

where were sent from the Colony of Massachusetts fifty horsemen, with their horses and arms, up to Pequot, to meet with as many footmen from the southern colonies, with commission to make sundry demands to Nenegret; and, upon none satisfaction, power given to send to each colony respectively for a further supply of horse and foot. But upon some little satisfaction received, by way of promise of future obedience to the English, they returned home again; and all acts of hostility ceased for that year.

Not to let wholly slip some chastisements of God unto the Commonwealth in general, and more particularly unto this

Death
of Wm.
Hibbins.

town of Boston, one of our honored magistrates, Mr. William Hibbins,¹ — a man very serviceable in his place, — was taken away by death, upon the 23d of the 5th month, in this year, 1654, about twelve o'clock in the night before the sabbath, who for his years, though they were ———, yet, if God had seen meet, he might have continued to do much more service.

Another such like providence befell us this year, upon the 9th of December, at two o'clock in the morning, — the

Death of
Maj.-Gen.
Gibbons.

death of Major-Gen. Edward Gibbons; a man of an excellent spirit for the public good, and the crown of the military affairs in this Commonwealth. Yet God saw

¹ A merchant, elected an Assistant in 1643, and much employed in public affairs. He was associated with the Governor and Mr. Dudley as a Committee "to consider of the body of liberties, what is fit to be repealed or allowed," in 1644; and the same year, with Mr. Dudley, to draw up instructions for the agents in England.

it meet to bereave us of such eminent pillars. His age was fifty-five, or thereabout.

About the 16th of December, the frost was extreme, and suddenly froze the Bay over, that, in very few days, it ^{Great frost.} was firm to pass betwixt the town and Long Island, and a constant passage to Charltowne and Noddle's Island, &c.; and so continued above a month. The other part ^{It rained the 8th and 11th of April.} of the winter was such weather as is usual; only the month April was cold.

The Commonwealth of England sent forth thirty-seven sail of ships, under the command of Gen. ^{An expedition to the West Indies.} Penn, for the West Indies; and by the way, at Barbados, they seized on sixteen ships as prize from the Dutch. ^{Feb. and March, 1654-5.} From thence they sailed, and arrived at Hispaniola the 13th of April. They landed the greatest part of ^{1655.} their army eight leagues to leeward of Domingo. Some engagement they had with the enemy; but the army being straitened of provision, and meeting with some other discouragements, they left Hispaniola, and sailed to Jamaica, which they easily took; and about the 25th of 4th month, 1655, they sent three ships for provisions to New England ^{Jamaica.} (and left twelve of the best ships at Jamaica, and the rest returned back for England); which ships here safely arrived, and were supplied fully with what they ^{1, 9, Mr. Inc. Nowell died.} came for, and returned laden to Jamaica. Arrived all there safe, where they found the land-soldiers, through fluxes and surfeits, a great part of them dead; and, from their first coming into those parts, by the 3d of April following, there was wanting in the lists six thousand, and supposed most of them to be dead.

1656, Nov. 14. We received intelligence from the Man-hatoes that the Indians had made an inroad upon the Dutch, and burnt their farms, slain and taken cap- ^{Indians massacre the Dutch.}

tives one hundred and fifty persons, and, had it not been for the help of some English, were likely to have taken the fort. Most of the captives were in a short time redeemed: others they kept, and carried it unto the Dutch with great insolency.

1655. In the beginning of September, two ships set sail for

London: Master James Garret master of one, called the "Hopewell;" and Master Lock of the other, called the "Globe."

In the beginning of December, Capt. John Leveret set sail for London, in a little frigate built at New France, and there taken by the English with the forts.

About the middle of December, Master John Cutting with his ship, and Master Christopher Clark with another ship, set sail from Boston for England, and arrived safe there in about a month's time.

March 14, 1655-6. Twenty persons, or about such a number, did agree to raise a stock to procure a house and materials to improve the children and youth of the town of Boston (which want employment) in several manufactures.

Seducers
called
Quakers. This summer, two women,¹ called Quakers, came from the Barbados, intending to oppose the ministry, and also to breed in people contempt of magistracy, but were cut short of their intents, being kept in prison until opportunity were of sending them whence they came; which was done. They were persons uncivil in behavior, showing no respect to any, ready to censure and condemn all; themselves would be thought the only knowing persons, and their spirit infallible; carrying a semblance of
August. humility, but exceeding proud. Likewise, soon after they were gone, came eight, of the same judgment and con-

¹ Mary Fisher and Ann Austin.

ditions, from England (viz., four men, and four women or maids), and for the same ends: found the same entertainment. They were brought over by one Robert Lock, a ship-master, who was compelled to retransport them for England.

The 26th of the 1st month, 1656, Capt. Robert Keyn¹ died. He was a man of good understanding and learning, both in divine, civil, and military arts and knowledge. He gave to the town a considerable sum, in his will, towards a town-house and conduit.

Capt. Keyn's
death.

Oct. 24. Three ships set sail for England. The names of their commanders were Master James Garret, Master Jonas Clarke, Master Robert Lock. They carried the sum of the returns of the country this year unto England, as is usual every year, we yet having our clothing (most of it) from thence; and, in the 9th of 3d month, we heard they all safely were arrived, in little more than a month after they went hence.

1656. This winter was very little cold weather, — not above seven very cold days until the 2d of the 12th month; nor scarce any snow at all until the 5th of the said month, whereon there fell a pretty deep snow. And it continued cold weather all the said 12th month, and the 1st of the 1st month very cold; but, after that, the weather grew very moderate again, and the spring came on forwardly.

Temperate
winter.

There was (also) a great breach of love and union in the church of Hartford the last summer, which continued to the end of this winter (now past), notwithstanding all endeavors there, and also by letters from hence, to have gained a reconciliation.

Divisions
in Hartford.

¹ Keayne. He was a merchant, and was fined by the Court for selling at too great a profit, the offence being aggravated on account of his religious profession. His will, recorded in the Suffolk Probate Office, occupied one hundred and fifty-eight pages. (Savage's Winthrop.)

1657. The 6th day of the 2d month, Mr. John Norton, and several other elders and messengers of churches, took their journey from hence toward Hartford, in Connecticut, to endeavor (if the Lord please to bless) a reconciliation, and renewal of the bond of love and unity amongst them, in those parts; for their breach hath been the occasion of much division in sundry churches in those parts.

The 16th day of this 2d month, our church of Boston sought the face of the Lord in solemn humiliation in their behalf.

23d of 2d. We received letters from Hartford, and understood that the work of reconciliation went very slowly forward. We also heard, that at a town called Farmington, near Hartford, an Indian was so bold as to kill an English-
A villanous act. woman great with child, and likewise her maid, and also sorely wounded a little child, — all within their house, — and then fired the house, which also fired some other barns or houses. The Indians, being apprehended, delivered up the murderer, who was brought to Hartford, and (after he had his right hand cut off) was, with an axe, knocked on the head by the executioner.

The Lord teach us what such sad providences speak unto us all!

9th, 3d. Mr. William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, died.

6th of the 3d. Mr. Norton returned in safety home, and brought us word that the Lord hath graciously wrought the church at Hartford to a re-union, and a mutual promise to bury all former differences in silence for the future.

1657. In the month of June, three ships arrived here from London, bringing supplies of clothing into the country; for, as yet, our chief supply, in respect of clothes, is from England.

Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Governor of New Haven, died.¹

Nov. 13. Two ships set sail from hence, being bound for London; and two went this summer, about August; by which four (though one of them went not directly hence), the sum of the returns of the country for this year was transported.

This summer, in the months of September and October, the town of Boston — viz., the children specially — was much afflicted with a flux and vomiting, whereof many young children died. And likewise the disease of the measles went through the town: scarce any house escaped; only through the goodness of God, scarce any died of it. The like soon after befell most of the towns hereabouts.

Diseases.

I may not omit the observance of a very strange hand of God, that hath, for some space of time, (continued upon two women in this town of Boston:) about ten years already upon one of them, by name Joan Edwards, a joiner's wife; and about three years upon another, by name Mary Hacker, a poor laboring man's wife. Who, at the first, were taken with a kind of raving and madness, but continue making a doleful noise, taking no care of or content or pleasure in any thing; can be made to follow no employment; sometimes will hardly receive any food; take notice of nothing that is spoken to them, nor minding their children or any relations; showing much dislike to any that counsel them to hear the word or to labor, as if they looked at all to aggravate their condemnation, especially Joan Edwards, who, at first, was often visited by godly ministers and Christians: the Lord hereby manifesting his sovereignty, who may do what he please with his creatures; and also daily preaching, by such spectacles (who seem to be a lively representation of the damned), matter of serious admo-

An observable hand of Providence.

Joan Edwards and Mary Hacker.

¹ Jan. 7, aged sixty-seven. (See next page.)

nition and thankfulness unto all who enjoy their wits and senses, and specially the gospel of grace. Men know not the human cause. Some think, and not unlike, they were left to some notorious sin, but could not confess it; others think Satan took advantage of a spirit of discontent with their own condition, as being poor and conflicting with sundry wants. The Lord teach all his people that see and hear of them to make a profitable improvement of such remarkable strokes!

1657. This summer, also, the fore-mentioned Quakers, that Boldness of seducers. were sent back to England, notwithstanding they knew the severity of the law against any such seducers, yet they boldly adventured to enter into these parts again, coming from England to Rhode Island, and thence hither; and therefore were severely whipped in the House of Correction, and kept close to work for their food, or else to fast. Some of them fasted several days, before they would work; but, after the belly craved so earnestly, they were glad to work.

They seemed to suffer patiently, and take a kind of pleasure in it. In those parts of the country where they might with freedom converse (as in Rhode Island and Providence and Warwick), they take no pleasure to be. It seems to be to them as the dry places ——— to the unclean spirit.

Mr. Oliver's death. The 1st of the 11th month, Mr. Thomas Oliver, one of the ruling elders of this church, died, being ninety years old, — a man by his outward profession a chirurgeon. He kept his house, or went very little abroad, for the space of three years before he died, and was a lively pattern of old age spoken of Eccles. xii.; though, in his former years, a man very serviceable.

Mr. Eaton's death. The 7th of this 11th month, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Governor of New-Haven Colony, died, — a man of singular wisdom, and of eminent use unto all those parts, and

well beloved and respected in the whole country. Thus the Lord seeth meet to make us thin and weak, by taking away our studs; and oh that it were indeed laid to heart!

1657. At Dedham there was a house firing. A woman and her son and daughter burned to death: the woman, in endeavoring to save her son; the daughter, in going to help both. One Goodman Wheeler's wife.

A sad
providence.

The breach at Hartford again renewed; God leaving Mr. Stone, their officer, to some indiscretion, as to neglect the church's desire in the celebration of the Lord's supper, and to proceed to some acts of discipline towards the formerly dissenting brethren; and Satan taking occasion also by Mr. Stone's absence some weeks from them, and neglecting of the use of all means to cherish and to look unto their newly set bones and joints, they easily brake again. The dissenting brethren removed from the church.

Contention
of brethren
continues.

This winter was very temperate. The month of November was pretty cool, and the beginning of the 12th month: else very moderate weather, and very little snow. By the 10th of the 1st month, the frost was generally out of the ground; and only in the latter end of February, and in the 1st month, there was two or three times much thunder and rain.

Temperate
winter.

In the latter end of March, and in the month of April, very much wet weather, that husbandmen doubted opportunity of sowing their corn, and so continued till the latter end of April.

Upon the 13th of April, there came a storm of snow, about two inches deep, and, the night following, a hard frost. In the latter end of this month, the skies cleared, and warm weather and dry, that it proved suddenly a very forward spring and comfortable seed-time.

Snow,
13th of 2d,
1658.

In the latter end of 3d month, much hurt came, by the caterpillars, to the fruit-trees.

Signs in
the heaven. 18th of 3d month. There was a comet seen to pass from the fort toward the market-place or the dock, about half an hour before sunset. It was seen at Brantrey and other towns, passing from the south-east to the north-east.

Very much lightning about Hampton town.

4th month. We heard, by two ships that came in from England, that Master James Garret's ship was not arrived, and looked as foundered in the sea, and so persons and estates lost. There was sundry persons of pretty note: Mr. Mejo (Mayhew), a godly minister, that taught the Indians at Martha's Vineyard;¹ and sundry young students, and some very hopeful; sundry women also, two of which were sisters in our own church. The passengers were, in all, ———. Of estate, there ———.

One of the ketches, likewise, that went hence for England, was taken by a pirate of Ostend, and therein much estate lost.

Month 6th. In harvest, the beginning was fair and comfortable, so that the corn that was early ripe was well inned; but then came much wet and cloudy weather, and very difficult inning the rest of the corn and hay, and much spoiled. Also much sickness in the southern colonies, — fevers and agues, of which many died. And, in our own town, the fever seated upon sundry. Public chastisements. Mr. Paddy's death. Mr. Paddy's death. William Paddy,² a very pious and public-spirited man, died of it, among others, the 24th of the 6th month.

8th of September. Our town, and Cambridge, and sundry

¹ This was Thomas Mayhew, the contemporary of Eliot, and perhaps a little in advance of him as an *apostle* to the Indians. He was on his way to England, with some of his converts, to procure the means of more extensive efforts.

² See Hull's private Diary.

towns in the southern parts, celebrated with fasting and prayer; but, notwithstanding, the Lord saw meet <sup>7th month,
a fast.</sup> to continue our sick in weakness, and to smite others, and not to clear up the face of the skies save for two or three days together. Other towns about us did the like. The Lord, who was wont to hear before we called, when we did but purpose to seek God, but now as if he should even say we had waxed worse by his mercies, and he would deliver and hear us no more.

The Commissioners of the Colonies sat in this month, at Boston.

Two ships set sail for England, after they had waited six or eight days at Nantasket for a wind; and, as some <sup>Ships
sail for
England.</sup> observed, when one Mr. ——— Newton, who was intended for England in one of them, was sent unto by the Commissioners and Mr. Norton to desire a conference before he went, the wind was observed to turn fair for the ships as soon as the said letter was written. And, as soon as the messengers came down, the master and some others were very free to the gentleman's return up again, as thinking his presence some cause of the cross-wind. He was an officer of the church at Farmington, in Connecticut.¹

Oct. 17. Mr. John Norton, by some sickness of body, could not come forth, though it was a day whereon the Lord's supper was celebrated: but it pleased God Mr. ——— Newton preached in his room; and, Oct. 31, Mr. Norton came forth, and preached in the afternoon.

Nov. 17. Mr. William Hubert² was ordained a teacher to the church at Ipswich, where he was brought up under Mr. John Norton, the Lord thereby making a com- <sup>New
ministers.</sup> plete supply to that church; before he supplied the death of

¹ Roger Newton, minister of Farmington, was ordained Oct. 13, 1652. He was afterward of Milford, and died June 7, 1683.

² Hubbard.

Mr. Rogers by Mr. Cobbitt in the pastoral office ; and now the other ; and also added two ruling elders, which they never had before, to make up their want of Mr. Norton, of whom the church at Boston stood in so much need. The Lord of the harvest will not let any lose by the help they spare to him.

Last ship,
29th Decemb. 29th December. The last ship that carried the returns of the country this year, with some few passengers, sailed hence 29th of 10th, in the evening of that day. We had much cold weather for three weeks before, but very little snow ; yet the river not quite frozen over. The cold continued sharp until about the middle of the 11th month ; then we had fine, warm, and pleasant weather till the midst of 12th month ; after that, we had wet, stormy weather, both snow and rain, until the 1st month ; then fine, moderate weather, only the frost not fully out of the ground till about 10th of 2d month. It was a pretty cold spring.

Vessels burnt
at sea. 1st of 11th. There was a small vessel burnt in Salem harbor's mouth. They went from Boston a little before night, on the last day of that week ; and in the night, when they were come into the harbor, they touched on a rock. The candles, as was supposed, fell down in the cabin, a cask of brandy being in the cabin : when that took fire, it left all remediless.

Another vessel before that, about October, was burnt at sea, as she came from Pascataway ; but no men lost in neither.

1658, 25th of 12th. We received the sad news of the death of the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell, a man of excellent worth, who died Sept. 3, 1658. The Lord give suitable affections to bewail the loss of such choice ones ! He was one that sought the good of New England ; though

he seemed to be much wanting in a thorough testimony against the blasphemers of our days.¹*

9th of 1st. Old Mr. Bulkley, of the church of Concord, departed this life, being about the age of _____.² Mr. Peter Bulkley's death.

10th of 1st, 1658-9. We received intelligence of the great fire in Barbados, which was 2d of 12th last, wherein about two hundred dwelling-houses and storehouses were consumed, and great estates together with them. Sundry in New England had a share in that loss. Great fire in Barbados.

22d of 1st month. Mr. Jacob Sheaff³ departed this life, — a righteous and a merciful man. The deaths of such ought to be laid unto heart. He was about the age of forty years, and one of the seven selectmen for the town of Boston. Mr. Sheaff's death.

13th of 2d month. Mr. Thomas Shepherd⁴ was ordained a teacher of the church at Charlestown, — a very hopeful and choice young man, inheriting a double portion of his father's spirit. It is no little comfort, in all the bereaving changes that the Lord exerciseth us with, that he yet raiseth us up of our sons to be prophets, and any of our young men to be as Nazarites.

The spring was very wet ; yet it pleased God to give a seed-time.

1659. Mr. Henry Dunster died.⁵

4th of 3d month. Mr. Seaborn Cotton⁶ was ordained pas-

¹ He could not understand what the magistrate had to do in matters of religion. He thought that all men should be left to the liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interfere without insnaring himself in the guilt of persecution ; and these were the Protector's "own words." (Miall.)

* These words, from *though*, were added at a later date.

² Rev. Peter Bulkley, æt. seventy-six.

³ Ancestor of the New-Hampshire family of Sheaffe.

⁴ Son of Thomas Shephard, minister of Cambridge.

⁵ President of Harvard College. He died Feb. 27.

⁶ Son of the Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, and *born at sea*, on the passage of his parents to New England in 1633.

tor to the church at Hampton. The good Lord give him a double portion of his father's spirit !

Sept. 10. About this time, one ship set sail for England, carrying much of the country's returns ; also another, a few days after, who likewise carried much estate.

Harvest blessings. We had through favor, since the wet weather in the spring, a very fruitful summer and seasonable harvest, and the year hitherto finely healthful.

Sept. 26. The church at Hartford, and the dissenting brethren that had withdrawn from communion and joined to another church, appeared here in their representatives, and referred themselves to the judgment of a council before chosen by nine several churches, and then sat in Boston.

The council fully heard the grievances of both sides, and, through the gracious presence of God, so determined as was blessed with a sweet re-union, and very good satisfaction unto both parties ; which was publicly manifested before they departed home. The council also reserved a liberty for themselves to sit again the next spring, if any thing should after prove not so clear as it seemed to be at present to both parties.¹ No sooner had God blessed us with this sweet peace, but he tried us with other troubles. Sundry of the Quakers came into the town, boldly and presumptuously resolving to outvie the authority of the country. Though they had been punished, and sent away, yet they would obtrude themselves upon us. Three of them had also been, a few weeks before, banished upon pain of death, — William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, two young fellows, little above twenty years of age ; and one Mary Dyer, of Road Island, who, about twenty years since, was of Boston, and brought forth a hideous monster, part like a man, part

¹ On the subject of this troublesome controversy between the Rev. Mr. Stone and certain members of his church, see note in Savage's Winthrop, i. 169, ed. 1853.

like a fish, part like a bird, part like a beast, and had no neck: it had scales, claws, and horns. These three persons had the sentence of death pronounced against them by the General Court, then sitting; and well they deserved it. Most of the godly have cause to rejoice, and bless the Lord that strengthens our magistrates and deputies to bear witness against such blasphemers.

A further merciful providence. There was baptized, Oct. 23, a male child of one Constant Madock, who ^{A blessing of God upon a} had ——— abortives before, but never any living young woman. child; and is the more remarkable, because, seven or eight months before, she embraced the order of the church, and was accepted a member, though her father and mother are much declined in that respect, and have been for many years. Though Quakers disown church order, yet the Lord owns it, and in his time will attest to it.

Oct. 27. The two young men before mentioned had the sentence of death executed upon them; but Mary Dyer was, upon petition of some friends, reprieved, provided she departed the jurisdiction in two days, and came no more hither.

Nov. 4. Upon this 4th of 9ber, being the sixth of the week, there was an eclipse of the sun. It began pre- ^{Eclipse.} sently after seven o'clock in the morning, and continued till half an hour past nine. Digits eclipsed, nine.

Nov. 11. The first snow this year fell this night. It was but about an inch deep; only whited the ground.

Dec. 8 was celebrated as a day of thanksgiving, throughout the Colony, for the comfortable harvest, the health of the country generally, and for our preser- ^{Public Thanksgiving.} vation from the destructive desires of that pestilent company the Quakers, for the healing of the great breach at Hartford, and for the peace of churches and the Commonwealth, &c.

Dec. 23. In the evening of this day, Mr. Edward Noriss,¹ teacher of the church at Salem, departed this life, — a zealous and a pious man, and had attained to the age of about four-score years.

In this same month of December, the young children of this town, and sundry towns hereabout, were much afflicted with a very sore whooping-cough: some few died of it.

2d of 11th. A little ship, called the “Tryall,” Mr. Samuel Scarlet, master, set sail for England. He had a good quantity of beavers and peltry, as the rest of the returns for this year.

Cold winter. We had much sharp frost the latter end of December, — all our bay frozen over; but the ice continued not in the channel but a few days. We had also much snow; and it continued until the 15th of February, and then the weather grew very temperate: no frost for many nights together, that it soon wasted. We had a pretty cold March, only not much frost. . . . *The frost was out of the ground when the 12th month ended.*

Great snow,
16th of 1st. Upon the 16th of 1st, 1659–60, there was a very great storm of wind and snow, such as none went beyond it all winter. All March very cold. A snow, April 6th.

15th of 11th. About this time, there came in a ship from London, and brought us intelligence of the state of our native land, which was very sad, — partly by the abounding of Quakers and almost all manner of heresies, all too much borne with, and by many in authority countenanced; also the unsettled state of the Parliament, — being lately dissolved, and forced from their sitting, by the army; and sundry insurrections and discontents in the people: as if the reformation,

¹ His age was seventy. Farmer, Eliot, and Allen give the date of his death as April 10; Mr. Savage, as Dec. 23.

purchased by so much war and blood, should be given up again to heretics and Papists, &c. For all which the Lord stirred up his people here to set apart the 22d of 12th month to seek the Lord, in solemn fasting, in all the Public Fast. churches hereabout.

[At this point, two pages in the Diary are written in short-hand, of a character especially careless, and difficult to decipher. This embraces all the entries which follow, to 1660, 20th of 3d, where the long-hand begins again. As in other passages, the short-hand is indicated by Italic type. It will be observed that the marginal notes, and some few words in the text, are in the ordinary character. As in other cases, the words which the editor cannot decipher are indicated by a row of periods, thus,].

Upon the 15th day of this present 12th month, about two or three o'clock of the morning, some ill-minded, or else unruly, rude persons, made bold to throw off two guns upon the ground. An insolent act.

In the year 1657, here was a woman, by name Jone Hogg, a sister of the church, and by most alleged to be a g[ood] woman, of more alleged, however, of the A poor woman, — one that had met with much afflicting hardships of poverty, and her husband all carrying his living others [? elsewhere]. Yet this woman had, to some, dreams or assurances that she should tell and attest toward them; and she and her children should live of pure spirit. She allowed herself to be somewhat censorious to some that afflicted her, and were not kind to her; and (yet?) she seemed to become sorry for of duty. . . . For some time, she would go to every lecture, stand and pray, and shed abundance of tears, — and that sundry weeks together; and sometime sing so indecently and loud, that, for this, she was first arrested by the church, and committed to the prison and to the civil Joan Hogg.

*magistrate, that she might not disturb the congregation. And yet, in the prison, she would stand and pray and weep. She pretended repentance to those At first, she was sent to Chrl to her husband, and died a horrid death. For a year or two at most, both she and her husband were there starved to death with hunger.*¹

There was another woman of ——— Knap. She ; pretending to rail, and being troublesome, she was sent to prison. Sometime she would hate Quakers, sometime plead for them : sometime, weeping tears, she could, out of herself, speak not a word to any ; sometime weary others with much speaking.

Another woman of that time, about 1658, that took such to the husband of another woman, did leave her, and would not still go to the meeting-house in the magistrate was forced to condemn her to prison. She would strip herself almost to the skin, and get out, if possible [three remaining lines nearly illegible].

Another poor woman, ——— Pope, whose husband was a very melancholy and unhappy man. [The passage is nearly illegible. He appears to have refused to share his wages with her, and she, with the consent of the church, to have deserted him.]

¹ The following extracts from the records of the First Church, Boston, refer to these transactions : —

“ Our Sister Hogg, for her disorderly singing and her idleness, and for saying she is commanded of Christ so to do, she was admonished, with the consent of the church, the 1st, 4th month, 1657.

“ Our Sister Hogg, for her refusing to labor, and saying she is commanded of God so to do, and for her disturbing the congregation by her disorderly singing, with refusing to hear the counsel of Christ given her in the church, was, in the name of the Lord Jesus, with the consent of the church, excommunicate on the 12th of the 5th month, 1657.”

² “ Ann Pope admitted a member the 4th of 8th month, 1657.” — *Records First Church.*

*A certain man, John Hurd, by trade a tailor, was and drinking with companions ; so that, after being privately admonished of he was put forth from the church in silence of more people, and continued out to this day. He was a man that made of himself, apt to chide when with others ; imperious in his folly.*¹

1660, 20th of 6th. In the night before the sabbath, it continued lightning from about nine o'clock until two or three, and frequently thundering : a pretty deal of rain also.

21st of 3d. Mary Dyer, who, 27th of October last, was reprieved from death, presumptuously returned, and came audaciously through the town at high day. All her private friends that met her persuaded her to return. She answered, she had a strong power to go forward, but no strength to go back. (He must needs go whom the Devil drives.) She was, by authority, apprehended, and, the 1st day of 4th month, hanged to death. Three or four other presumptuous Quakers were banished upon pain of death.

4th of 3d. Mr. Edward Holyoke departed this life, — a grave, pious, and able Christian.²

¹ The following entries, in the records of the First Church, allude to this case : —

“ Our Brother John Hurd, for his common and frequent drunkenness, was, in the name of the Lord Jesus and with the consent and power of the church, excommunicate on the 11th of 10th month, 1653.

“ John Hurd, upon his repentance, openly professed before the church, for his sin of drunkenness, — for which he was formerly excommunicated out of the church, — was now again, by Elder Penn, with the church's consent, by the lifting up of their hands, restored into the fellowship thereof, 2d month, 1654-55.”

This last entry, with three others of 1654 and 1655, are found in the midst of 1664.

“ John Hurd, for his drunkenness, upon conviction by sufficient witnesses, was, by a unanimous consent of the brethren, in the name of the Lord Jesus, excommunicate from the fellowship of the church, 25th 9th month, 1666.”

² At Lynn, where he first resided. He removed to Springfield, and was a deputy from the town, but appears to have returned to Lynn. His inventory is described as that of “ the estate of Mr. Edward Holyoke, of Lynne, who died at Rumney Marsh, the 4th of May, 1660.”

Mr. Holyoke was the author of a work entitled “ The Doctrine of Life, or of

26th of 1st, '59. Mahalalule Mummings, a young man, going, about nine o'clock, toward his being nevertheless dead with cold and escaped. He the Mill Creek the first morning.

One Mr. Web dies. Upon the sabbath day
 Palsy. smiting with the palsy, and died the third day of the week, two o'clock.

1660.
 Mrs. Wilson's death,
 6th of 4th. Mrs. Wilson, our pastor's wife, having been much of late years afflicted with the previous distempers, died Friday, the 6th of 4th month.

21st of 4th. By reason of intelligence of sad distractions in England, such as threatened the frustration of all the hopes of the reformation begun, — Royalists taking hand and heart of the one party, and Anabaptists and sectaries on the other party, and a fear of their joining with the Quakers, all which sorely threatened the loss of England's peace, — the General Court called upon the whole Colony to
 Public Fast. seek the Lord in a way of solemn fasting and prayer; which was this day attended.

Man's Redemption," — a quarto volume, printed at London, 1656, pp. 344. His own estimate of its value is indicated by the language of his will, wherein he says, "As for the holy faith of the holy one God in Trinitie, and of the holy faith of our glorious Lord, the Son of God, the Lord Jesus Christ, the second Adam, I have composed a book, and doe bestow upon each of my sons-in-law, as their best legacy." His will also contains a reference to his books, writings, and manuscripts, "which he left to his son Hollyoke." This was *Elizur*, who married a daughter of William Pynchon. He was several years a deputy from Springfield, and an influential citizen.

It is remarkable that both Pynchon and Holyoke should have published elaborate works on theology. The former, annoyed by the proceedings of the Court, for having expressed, and caused to be printed, opinions somewhat at variance with the orthodox standard of the time, sought refuge in his native country, but left his son, "the worshipful Major John," at Springfield, a trustworthy magistrate, distinguished for his usefulness. Mr. Holyoke, more fortunate than his friend, escaped censure, but, as deputy, dissented from the Court in its persecution of Pynchon.

The names of Holyoke and Pynchon are held in honor in the place where they resided, and are perpetuated in their attachment to several local institutions. A part of the original territory of Springfield now constitutes the town of Holyoke. (See Abstract of Wills; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. ix. p. 345.)

26th of 3d. Two ships came in from England, and brought news of the safe arrival of the vessels that sailed thither last year with the returns of this country; ^{Ships return.} and after them, upon 4th of 4th, came in the ship "Tryall," laden with English goods.

And, in the 4th month, came in Master Woodgreen and Master Peirce, — two great ships, laden with supplies of clothing for the country.

31st of 3d. Charles the Second was, by a strange turn of Providence, with all joy accepted; and then arrived, to take his father's throne, in England. The good Lord make him a nursing father to the church, and fit him as he did David, by long affliction, to be an excellent shepherd to his English Israel!

29th of 6th. The Lord having bowed the heart of Mr. ——— Higginson to tarry at Salem, whereas last year he came from ———,¹ with a full purpose for to remove himself and family to England, and Salem being then lately deprived of Mr. Norris by death, they prevailed with him to labor in God's work among them. God so inclined all hearts, as that he was this day ordained a pastor to that church.

Sept. 24. About this time went the ship "Prudent Mary," and, about Oct. 20, the ship "John of Leith," both laden with the returns of the country, for London.

Oct. 26. A snow, seven inches deep.

^{Snow.}

We heard of the bishops; and with them the old formalities of surplice, &c., were begun to be practised again in our native land, — which had been now twenty years expunged, — and many good ministers put out of ^{Sad news.} place.

Oct. 24. One Mrs. ——— Cogan, a gentlewoman that had

¹ John Higginson, who came from Guilford, in Connecticut.

lived in good credit, and before thought to be very pious, poisoned herself. *She was stated, of some that knew her best, to be of such part* [a few words illegible].

About the 6th month last, there was likewise another woman, well reputed of, drowned herself at Dedham, — one Go—— Dwite. Two awful strokes unto all that knew them ; and no little scandal, by accident, to religion ; and a great brand of infamy upon themselves. This is not the death of the righteous.

Nov. 25. Upon the Lord's Day, one Joan Edwards, of whom mention is made page 16,¹ made confession in public, by a writing, read, and taken from her mouth by Mr. Wilson,

Captivity
returns. how that, about three months since, she arose from her former misery, and first began to attend outward labor and employment, yet retaining her former thoughts of hell to be her portion ; but, after her attendance a few weeks in this way, she found her heart more and more encouraged, and despair decaying, and hopes of mercy reviving, as also a sense of her great stubbornness of will, the chief cause of her former will, and a conviction of other secret sins. She acknowledged the justice and mercy of God, and felt, at last, a benefit by the church's former censure of admonition, and some word of promise God began to quicken her soul with, and earnestly desired the prayers of God's people, and that she might be a warning to all to take heed of self-willedness.

Nov. 30. A small ship arrived from England, Mr. Trumball, master, and brought intelligence of the bishops' countenancing the old liturgy, and inventions of men, in the worship of God, and the face of things looking sadly toward the letting-in of Popery ; as if, when they had been now twenty years conflicting, and a great part of them in bloody war, for reformation, they should all upon a sudden be sent

back again, as sometime Israel in the wilderness, ready to enter into Canaan, yet for unbelief and disobedience sent back to the Red Sea, and to wandering forty years, to consume that generation that would not learn and do the work of their generation.

This winter, Mr. ——— Newman, Governor of New Haven, died.

Jan. 23. We have had very little snow hitherto, and not much frost: a few pretty cold days in beginning of November and latter end of December, otherwise hitherto very little frost.

Dec. 26.¹ About this time, the General Court being called to consider of some address and letters congratulatory to be sent from the country unto the king, and to the lords and commons in Parliament, with desire of their gracious confirmation of our patent, and therein of our liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, it was sent in the vessel now to go.

Here was some Quakers, that by law deserved death; yet, pretending they came for passage to England, the ^{Ship set sail.} Court gave them leave to depart in Master Gillum's ship, now to go. Two of them went to the said ship about the 4th of 11th month. The ship was held windbound at Nantascut until 12th of this 11th month, and then set sail, and another small vessel with them, John Fairwether, master, — both laden with the returns of the country.

The rest of the Quakers had liberty, if they pleased to use it, to depart the jurisdiction, though some of them capitally guilty. The good Lord pardon this timidity of spirit to execute the sentence of God's holy law upon such blasphemous persons!

Jan. 5. The Lord was pleased to chasten his people with an epidemical cold, which seized not only upon every town,

¹ This is still 1660; the entry above having been inserted after this was written.

but almost upon every person, though upon the most very gently ; yet some died, it being, amongst some towns, accompanied with fever and ague. *It spread to every town, that we could ask them.*

Jan. 20. Being the Lord's Day, our church having before agreed that the elders should call upon the adult children of the church, to see whether they would own and take hold of the covenant of their fathers (which had been thus long, for the most part, neglected), and, through favor, a great willingness appeared, both in youth, maids, men, and women (though not many was grown up to married estate); and this sabbath, and some the former sabbath, being called by their names, in the face of the whole congregation, did openly manifest their desire to acknowledge their relation to the church, according to the covenant of God which they plighted in their parents.

Mr. Edward Hutchinson, though he had before promised to rest silent in the church's attendance of what they judged their duty, though himself not approving of it (yet turned his back upon the church), as soon as they began this solemn and public performance, he desired a dismissal from the church. Mr. Anthony Stoderd seemed also not a little offended ; but the church, with general satisfaction and cheerfulness, attended this work.

Jan. 21. Mr. Isaac Heith,¹ the ruling elder at Roxbury, departed this life, being about seventy-five years old, — a man exemplary for piety and fidelity in his charge, and likewise of good ability. The good Lord make us sensible of our pillars falling, and raise up others with a double portion of their spirit !

Jan. 23. Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, of the church at Rowley, departed this life, aged [left blank ; seventy years, according to Farmer].

¹ Heath.

Jan. 31, *or rather* Feb. 1. About seven o'clock at night, there was an earthquake, the shaking whereof was little discerned at Boston, but the noise heard by most. At Roxbury, the shaking was much more discernible.

Feb. 7. There fell a snow, about a foot deep, and pretty sharp frost so far on this month; but, about the 10th day of this 12th, it began to be very moderate, and the snow every day wasted apace.

Feb. 27 was kept as a solemn fast by the churches in these parts, — partly in respect of a general cold that seized upon the country lately; and partly that the Lord would A Fast. give the country favor in the eyes of the king and parliament, and accept the late address hence made unto them; and that the Lord would move them to continue and encourage us in the exercise of our liberties, civil and ecclesiastic. And it was the serious desire of many, that the Lord would direct the country concerning these two gentlemen, Mr. Whally and Goff, whether to prevent and hinder their escape hence, and reserve them to be sent to England if sent for, or to suffer them, if they see cause, to go whither they please; and, however, that all may see our religion doth not teach us to be disloyal to our native land, the parliament, or our sovereign; and also that religion might prosper there, the work of Christ in his churches encouraged and increased, and, among ourselves, this great question about the right and privilege of the children in our churches, and the duty of each church toward them, might be more fully understood and embraced.

24th of 12th. One George Broome, a tailor, was brought drunk into his house late in the evening, and laid upon a bed, but, in the morning, found dead (being A sad warning to drunkards. the Lord's-day morning). He was, with some other company, late that night in a wine-cellar, and, in his lifetime, a tippling

fellow, profanely malignant against the ways and people of God.

9th of 1st [1661]. This Court, two Quakers, formerly banished (*pœna mortis*), for their blasphemous tenets vented, are now condemned to die for presumptuous coming again into our jurisdiction. 14th of 1st, one of them, William Ledra, was executed.

27th of 12th [1660]. It being a public fast in most churches, Mr. William Thomson, pastor of the church of
Mr. Thompson. Brantrey, being solicited earnestly by the people — Mr. Henry Flint, their other teaching elder, being sick — to preach, did hearken ; though before this, through deep melancholy, had wholly neglected all public exercises, and, of late, family worship as to his own performance, calling himself a reprobate, yet now doth preach again :¹ *but, since this, his must be a mournful estate, constantly* [half a line illegible].

1661. Most of the first month pretty cold.

17th of 1st, *it being a sabbath day*, was a violent storm of snow ; and, in afternoon, rain.

The spring proved backward. Much cold and moist weather until about the middle of the 3d month ; then it began to be warm weather.

13th of 2d. Master Samuel Scarlet arrived here from England.

5th of 3d. Master Foster arrived ; and, by him, we received the intelligence of a horrid act of Thomas Venner, and
Thomas Venner. thirty-eight companions in evil, that, under a pretence of fighting for King Jesus, they armed themselves, and slew sundry in the city of London. (It is high time for all that do indeed fear God to distinguish between true worship and pretenders unto the worship of God, and to be afraid of the principles and companies of such who dare venture to

¹ He died Dec. 9, 1666. See Diary under that date.

break God's known laws under pretence of being his choice servants.) In conclusion, they was slain, scattered, taken, and about sixteen of the principal executed, according to their deserts.¹

23d of 2d. Nathaniel Williams, one of our selectmen, died.

6th of 3d. We received a loving letter from the king's majesty; but the chief matter in it was a command for the apprehending the two colonels, Whally and Goff. The letter was dated 1st March ('60). The governor forthwith sent to all the colonies copies of the said letter, and messengers to do their utmost in that respect.

18th of 3d. Here arrived the ship "William and Jane," Master John Baker, commander, and brought in letters from the king's majesty, expressing himself willing to show all just encouragement to us as any of his royal predecessors had done, and accepting our address, promising it should not want a due remembrance upon all seasonable occasions, &c. Likewise a letter to the governor from the Earl of Southampton, and another from Secretary Morris.

About 16th of 4th, at Wooborn,² there fell abundance of great hail, some two inches long and one inch thick, and lay upon the ground three or four inches deep; brake and spoiled much grass and corn; a great wind accompanying, blowing down many trees.

¹ Other accounts say twelve. The execution took place in January. Venner was a "fifth-monarchy man, and, maintaining that both Cromwell and Charles II. were usurpers, proclaimed the kingdom of King Jesus. He had resided at Salem, where he was a member of the church. He was also a member of the Artillery Company. The Rev. William Hooke, writing from England to Governor Winthrop in 1657, says it was a conspiracy carried on by tumultuous, outrageous, discontented men, pretending to fifth monarchy. . . . One *Venner*, not long since dwelling in your Boston, a wine-cooper, is a principal actor, who, being brought before the Protector, spoke and behaved himself with as great impudence, insolence, pride, and railing as (I think) you ever heard of." Venner and his companions died, affirming that, if they had been deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver.

² Woburn.

27th of 4th. Master John Fairwether¹ arrived here from London.

6th of 5th. Capt. Woodgreen arrived from London in the ship "Prudent Mary."

22d of 3d was our general election court. The Quakers had given out such speeches as gave cause to think they intended mischief unto our magistrates and ministers, and threatened fire and sword to be our speedy portion; but it pleased God we had no disturbance by any. Mr. John Norton preached a very excellent and seasonable sermon to the country then met.

4th of 4th. So likewise did Mr. Higginson upon the Artillery Election, the first second day in the 4th month. The General Court continued long this sessions; and many very honestly minded of the deputies, and some among the magistrates, could not consent to own the governor's acting without the council in executing the king's majesty's warrant for apprehending Coll. Whally and Goff, though they own it a duty to be done; yet his acting without the major part of the council assembled made them loath to own the act at all. The Court, not proceeding with a like understanding, could not be unanimous in voting. A committee of four magistrates, four ministers, and four deputies, was chosen, who faithfully asserted the liberty of the country, according to the patent, in sundry particulars, and likewise plainly cleared our duty of subjection and loyalty; acknowledged we held this place of his majesty's manor of East Greenwich, and were not to subject it to any other; and to endeavor the preservation of his royal person, realm, and dominions, &c.; and that the letters abovesaid were to be diligently and faithfully executed by the authority of the

¹ A representative in 1684. He died April 13, 1712, aged seventy-eight (Farmer). He was one of the committee for the war in 1676.

country, &c. The Court owned, by their vote, the said draught presented.

The Quakers were all sent out of the prison ; and Weanlock, that was condemned, was once more let go. Two of them was whipped out of the jurisdiction at a cart, and all the rest went along with them ; and, as they come hereafter, to be whipped hence as vagabonds.

This spring proved very moist ; but the summer hot, and likely to be fruitful. The canker-worm hath, for the four years, devoured most of the apples in Boston, that the apple-trees look, in 4th month, as if it was the 9th month.

Connecticut has had much corn spoiled by their great floods this spring.

10th of 5th was appointed by the General Court, before they brake up, for a day of thanksgiving [to God] for his goodness to us in the loving letter of his majesty for our long peace, health, and plenty.

19th of 5th. The "Charles" arrived from London, with eighty passengers, — John Leveret¹ one. About 28th of 6th, the "Charles," of London, Mr. Robert Lord, master, sailed hence for London, full freighted.

8th of 6th, being the 5th day of the week, after our ordinary lecture, the soldiers being all in arms, viz., our four companies and the country troop, the magistrates mounted on horseback, the ministers being present, and a multitude of people, King Charles the Second was proclaimed by Mr. Edward Rawson, Secretary of State, all standing bare, and ended with "God save the king !" and a shout, sundry volleys of shot from the soldiery, all the guns in the castle and fort

¹ Afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. He was in England when complaints from Rhode Island were carried to Cromwell against the Colony. "Mr. Leverett, who was a captain of horse under Cromwell during some part of the war, had much of his favor, and prevented so much as an inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts." (Hutchinson.)

and town and ships. All the chief officers feasted that night at the charge of the country.¹

8th of 6th. One Christopher Batt was accidentally shot by his own son into the bowels. Died the next evening.

Sept. 16, being a training-day for horse and foot, Major-Gen. Atherton riding home, his horse threw him. He was taken up speechless and senseless, and so continued from six o'clock till one o'clock in the morning, and died.

Sept. 20. His corpse attended to the grave with ten foot-companies, and the country troop from Boston to Dorchester.

Oct. 1. The ship "Prudent Mary" sailed hence, carrying a great part of the returns of the country for this year for London.

This latter part of the summer proved very sickly in many parts of the country, especially of agues. Our town also had many sick ; and sundry died, especially children, of gripings and fluxes.

Nov. 10. A snow, about five inches deep.

Nov. 12. The ship "Society" was launched.

Nov. 16. A ship came in from London, the master whereof was a Quaker, — one Ralph Goldsmith. *The ship's name, the "Untried" ship.*

Dec. 4. A day of public humiliation by our church and several churches hereabout. *The Court sat the same day, which was looked at as by some of us.*

Dec. 24. A meeting of the magistrates, elders, and deputies in the towns near Boston. They agreed, with one consent, that Mr. Norton and Mr. Broadstreet should be sent to England in behalf of the churches and Commonwealth. The General Court met, and acted the same.

¹ This demonstration of loyalty was made more than fourteen months after Charles's return.

2d of 11th. A day of humiliation kept in all this Colony.

7th of 11th. Our church consented that our reverend teacher, Mr. John Norton, should not be hindered by us from undertaking the said voyage.¹

A committee being chosen by the General Court to take care concerning this matter, to receive their answer, they sat several days, preparing, propounding, and concluding the going of the said messengers, during which time the weather hindered the ships sailing. Feb. 1. The said committee went home. The same day, or at night, Mr. Norton was taken sick, full of pain. Feb. 3, the wind was pretty fair, and, Feb. 5, exceeding fair, and a settled sky. The ship was stopped for five days to see whether Mr. Norton might, in that time, be fit to expose his body to the seas, — who was willing so to do, though sick, if judged meet by the said committee.

10th of Feb. Mr. Norton, Mr. Broadstreet, Mr. Davis, and myself, went on shipboard. Next morning, set sail ; and, by the 28th March, we saw the Lizard ; and, 22d of 1st, we arrived in the Downs. After a few days, the messengers addressed themselves to the Court, delivered their letters to the Lord Chancellor, received good words from him. After their minds, by several comings, fully known, they had fair promises of a full grant to their whole desire in the country's behalf. But their writing, which they drew in order there-

¹ A thankless service ; for though favorably received by the Court, and returning the same year "with the king's most gracious letter, some parts of which" cheered the hearts of the whole country, "yet, as other portions gave less satisfaction, the agents, instead of receiving credit for what they had accomplished, were reproached for not having accomplished more. This popular censure exceedingly affected Mr. Norton, who grew melancholy, and died in April following" (1662). "Mr. Broadstreet," says Hutchinson, "was a man of more phlegm, and not so sensibly touched." On this occasion, it was remarked by Cotton Mather, that, "of all the agents sent over unto the Court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not, on his return, meet with some froward entertainment among his countrymen."

unto, at last unsigned ; and another letter, wherein was sundry things ordered for the country to attend which seemed somewhat inconsistent with our patent and former privileges, in the beginning of said letter confirmed, and which some endeavor to take advantage from to the change [of] our good laws and customs.

The General Court ordered all warrants to proceed in his majesty's name, but, as yet, sent no other letters of acknowledgment nor other request.

1662. A synod at Boston, who published the proposition, 1st, touching the subject of baptism ; 2dly, consociation of churches.

In some of our eastern plantations, as Dover, &c., many have become Quakers, and no little trouble thereby unto those whose hearts do indeed fear God, or are sound in the doctrine of faith ; and it seemeth as a punishment for their unwillingness, that the civil magistrate should exert his power for their suppression.

The former part of this summer was a very great drought, insomuch that the grass and corn was so scorched, there was little likelihood of any harvest, and so as God seemed to shut out their prayers : but at last, the elders being met, in a synodical way, to consult of matters ecclesiastical, they kept one day in fasting and prayer ; and the Lord gave a speedy answer, and a full supply of rain, and a pretty comfortable harvest.

Sept. 3. Master Clark, in the ship "Society," brought in the country's messengers in safety ; viz., Mr. Broadstreet and Mr. Norton.¹

Nov. 5 was appointed and kept as a day of public thanksgiving throughout this Colony.

¹ Also Hull himself. See private Diary.

Dec. 3 was also a day of public humiliation throughout this Colony.

Dec. 27. Master Clark sailed hence with the latter returns of this year to England. Then began the weather to be winter-like ; for, until that time, we scarce had any frost nor snow.

Jan. 1. Fell a pretty deep snow ; and so several times, both in the 11th and 12th months. The snow was generally two feet deep. About the 26th of February, and beginning of March, it wasted gently from day to day.

26th of 11th. In the evening, about six o'clock, was an earthquake, that shook much for near one-quarter of an hour ; the ground being covered with snow about one foot deep, and hard, frosty weather. *The elders that day met at Mr. Norton's house.* There was shaking in several parts of the town, and other towns, two or three times the same week ; but the former was general.

1663, 9th of 1st. Sundry young merchants and others, being non-freemen, boldly offered their votes to the freemen where they were together for nomination of magistrates.¹

5th of 2d, being the Lord's Day, Rev. Mr. John Norton was in some pain under his left pap, but yet came to the assembly, and, in the afternoon, intended to preach : but Mr. Allen was by some friend procured to preach again in his room ; and Mr. Norton was laid upon the bed at home, his pain not much increasing, and at evening he thought somewhat abated. He walked, and spake cheerfully ; and suddenly, about seven o'clock, he exchanged this temporal life for one eternal, in a most easy and quick way, — only a very few groans and gasps, though before and otherwise a strong and healthful body.²

¹ See Colony records, vol. iv. part 2, p. 74.

² Mr. Norton had gone abroad as one of the Colony's Commissioners very unwillingly. On his return, the report of the commission was so ungraciously received,

Our loss seemeth irreparable ; ourselves most unworthy to have ever such a mercy again : only the Lord dealeth not with his people according to their evil deservings, but bestoweth blessings for his own and his Christ's sake ; to whom let us go, as with ropes about our necks, in humility, repentance, and hope.

16th of 3d. Betwixt Milford and New Haven, there was seen two suns, for the space of half one hour, by
A prodigy. sundry persons, about four o'clock in the afternoon ; the one about a point of the compass southward of the true sun.

24th of 3d. The ship "Society," John Peirce, master, arrived safe here, laden with goods, and some passengers ; among whom, Rev. Mr. John Wally,¹ a minister, with his family.

The spring appeared very hopeful for a good harvest ; but,
Blasting :
Hag. ii. 17 ;
Amos iv. 9. about the beginning of the 5th month, the best wheat, as also some other grain, was blasted in many places, so that whole acres were not worth reaping. We have had much drought the last summer, and excess of wet several other springs ; but this of blasting is the first so general and remarkable that I yet heard of in New England.

Deaths. June 15. Mr. Miller,² a minister of Groton, died.
5th of 5th. Mr. Newman, minister at Rehoboth, died.

that, says Hutchinson, "he grew melancholy." Hutchinson seems to ascribe his death, in some degree, to this cause. The Quakers considered it a just judgment of God upon him, as the "chief priest of Boston."

Mather says, "Of these temptations, a considerable share fell to Mr. Norton ; concerning whom, there were many who did not stiek to say that 'he had laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties ;' and his melancholy mind imagined that his best friends began, therefore, to look awry upon him." (See p. 205.)

See Hull's private Diary.

¹ Afterwards minister of Barnstable. He died March 24, 1679 (Farmer, Allen) ; or Jan. 24, 1678, according to Mr. Savage.

² John Miller, of Yarmouth, died at Groton, June 12, 1663 (Savage).
See Butler's Hist. of Groton.

20th of 5th. Mr. Stone also, a minister of Hartford, died.

27th of 5th. The ship "Society," Mr. Chr: Clark, master, arrived from London, laden with goods and passengers; amongst whom was one Mr. Woodbrige,¹ a reverend minister, with his family.

7th of 6th. Our church at Boston kept a fast to humble themselves before the Lord for his hand upon them in the loss of Mr. Norton, our reverend teacher, and to entreat him, the God of the spirits of all flesh, to give us a meet supply.

15th of 6th. The church had a meeting, and jointly agreed to write letters by the first opportunity unto England for Dr. John Owen.

21st of 6th. The letters by the persons deputed to draw them were read to the church; which they accepted. Only Mr. Edward Hutchinson and Mr. Houchin² showed dissent, and desired the church might at that time express their intention, or rather resolution, to choose Mr James Allen.

Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Carrill [Caryl], and Mr. Greenhill³ were also written unto to promote the church's desire, and, in case it so should fall out that the doctor could not come, to think of who might be meet for us.

22d August. There was a great eclipse of the sun, 9 digits 53 min., at three o'clock in the afternoon; a very Eclipse. clear day. The light was almost like eventide.

28th of August. A solemn fast at Charltown.

Sept. 2. A solemn fast at Cambridge.

¹ John Woodbridge, first minister of Andover. "He went to England in 1647; returned in July, 1663, and took up his residence at Newbury; was elected assistant in 1683 and 1684; and acted as magistrate until his death, 17th March, 1695. (Farmer.)

² Jeremy Houchin, "a distinguished inhabitant." His daughter Elizabeth married *John*, son of Gov. Endicott. (Drake.)

³ Eminent ministers in London, and members of the Westminster Assembly.

Aug. 28. Master Peirce set sail hence for London.

Much corn blasted in several parts.

Sept. 3. Capt. Seely arrived here from London.

In this month of September, October, and part of November, there came very many bears out of the wilderness, ^{Wild bears.} so that several hundreds were killed of them by the English in the several parts of this Colony. They did little hurt to any person: some few wounded; only one Indian died.

This year it was said, by such as took account of the number of ships that came in, that there came into Boston harbor sixty ships and barks, besides ketches, &c.

About this time, here arrived Mr. Nathaniel Brewster,¹ a very able and pious minister, in Master Prout's ship, from London. Mrs. Norton entertained him and his family in her house; and after a while, when our church had tasted his gifts, they desired his frequent labor among us. Who, together with Mr. James Allen, — that came hither about August, 1662, — carried on the public ministry in our church.

Mr. Worster, minister of Salisbury, died.²

Dec. 2 was a day of public thanksgiving in several churches hereabout.

18th. Letters were again sent by Boston church to call Dr. John Owen to officiate to them.

Letters in their behalf, written likewise by the General Court and by the elders distinct, to move him to come.³

25th. The "Society," Master Clark's ship, sailed hence

¹ Nathaniel Brewster (H.C. 1642) was settled in the ministry at Norfolk, in England; returned to America, and settled at Brookhaven, L. Island, in 1665; and died in 1690. (Farmer.)

² Mr. Savage assigns Oct. 20, and Farmer Oct. 8, 1662, as the date of his death.

³ The letter of the Court is found in Colony Records, vol. iv. part ii. p. 98.

with the greatest part of the returns for this latter part of the year. Also the "Supply," John Fairweather, master, carried the remainder.

Dec. 30. Our church at Boston kept a solemn fast, which is to be observed gradually in all the neighboring churches.

Jan. 15. About this time began an epidemical cold, and scarcely missed a touch of any; and many were brought very low by it, a fever setting in with it upon many. Our Elder Pen¹ was very ill of it, and sundry others; but it pleased the Lord that few died.

Very little cold weather until the beginning of 11th month, and then sundry great snows, though intermixed with many moderate seasons and thaws. The spring proved cold and dry.

1664, 26th of 3d month. Master Peirce arrived from London, but brought not Dr. Owen, nor any certain information of his resolution to come.

The whole Bible printed in the Indian tongue.

27th of 3d. Mr. Increase Mather was ordained a teacher of the church at the north end of Boston.

Sundry agitations and troublesome motions have been this last winter and spring between the United Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, about their jurisdiction of Colonies, and one Mr. John Scot.

Our Colony and Plymouth have made some application to them, as foreseeing danger of ruin to all for want of union, or through the divisions of some.

Self-interest is too predominant in many. Want of subjection of inferiors to superiors, and too much want of religious care to contain in subjection those under them, is a visible evil among us. Disacknowledgment of the ordinance of councils, and that great breath of a ministerial judge, is

¹ James Penn, elder of the church, Representative and Marshal of the Colony. (Farmer.)

very visible in many churches. Non-acknowledgment of the children of the church to be members thereof, nor taking care that their knowledge and life might answer their relation, is also manifest. And many other evils, as grudging at the maintenance of magistracy, and, by too many, of the maintenance of the ministry; likewise pride in long hair, new fashions in apparel, drinking, gaming, idleness, worldliness, &c.

July 23. Richard Nichols, Esq., and Col. Carteret,¹ and Capt. Thomas Dellavall, arrived here, and Sir Robert Carr, Mr. Maverick, at Pascataqua, with letters from the king's majesty to settle any differences in the Colonies, to demand performance of his letter [of] June, 1662, and to reduce the Monatoes.²

Before they went hence, they demanded assistance of two hundred soldiers, in case they should need.

The General Court meeting, appointed the raising of two hundred volunteers, and Capt. Heugh Mason³ and William Hudson⁴ to have the command of them. Few volunteers presented themselves, though the drums beat up and proclamation made in the several towns for them.

Two messengers, Capt. Thomas Clark⁵ and John Pynchon,⁶ were sent with speed to meet the king's commissioners at the Monatos, and, if they desired the assistance of our soldiery, to send speedy notice.⁷ Aug. 27, agreement by several

¹ Cartwright.

² Manhadoes, or Manhattan.

³ A captain of militia; died 1678. (Farmer.)

⁴ Captain of the Artillery Company.

⁵ Of the Boston Artillery Company. He was several years Speaker of the House, and Assistant. He died in 1683. (Farmer.)

⁶ Major Pynchon, of Springfield.

⁷ The requisition from Boston was so tardily obeyed, that the enterprise was over before the Massachusetts troops were ready to march. (Gordon, History of New Jersey.) Such, at least, was the complaint of Col. Nicolls and Sir George Carteret to the Secretary of State. But Hutchinson alludes to it to say that two hundred men were raised, and ready to march, with great expedition. And in the commissioners' fourth paper, presented to the General Court in May, 1665, they acknowledge the readiness of the Colony to assist in the expedition.

articles was made for surrender of all into the said commissioners' power.

Sept. 1. A solemn fast appointed by the Court, and kept throughout the jurisdiction.

The wheat throughout our jurisdiction this year mostly blasted: in sundry towns, scarce any left. The latter part of summer likewise very drougthy; much of the grass scorched up.

September. Latter part of this month cold, and the former part of October; yet the Indian harvest pretty good.

Oct. 28. Our General Court met; and this Court came in sundry petitions, subscribed by many honest-hearted, to signify their desire and encouragement that the liberties granted by patent might, with utmost endeavors, be continued; sundry that were also truly pious and prudent, and likewise lovers of the welfare of this plantation, and desirous of nothing more than their enjoyment of our privileges civil and ecclesiastical, yet were doubtful. Some of the original authors of those petitions were such as looked at this place as a State independent, and hence were less heedful of manifesting their own duty of subjection to our sovereign, in all things where we might, without sin against the King of kings; yet the former honest-hearted subscribers intended no such thing. God therefore, I hope, will accept the sincere desires of his servants, and neither bereave us of our blessings, nor suffer us to forfeit them through defect of duty.

At this Court, the petition drawn by Mr. Mitchell,¹ in behalf of our Colony, to his majesty, was committed to the care of Major-Gen. John Leveret and Capt. D. Gookin, to be

¹ Willoughby, Leverett, and Mitchell had been appointed, Aug. 1, to prepare and draw up a petition, filled with such rational arguments as they can find, for the continuance of our privileges granted by charter.

conveyed safe by Mr. Clark's ship, which sailed hence Nov. 12.

Nov. 16 was a fast, kept by the Colony, appointed by the Court.

There hath come into our harbor of Boston near one hundred sail of ships, this year, of ours and strangers, and all laden hence.

Nov. 10. Came forth in print three sermons preached by Rev. Mr. John Norton, being gathered out of the notes of some that wrote after him in his lifetime ;¹ also a letter drawn by him, and subscribed by all our elders, unto one Mr. John Dury, to congratulate his endeavors for the union of all the Protestants.²

Oct. 25. One Elizabeth Bishop, who had lived, according to visible appearance, both maid, wife, and three times a widow, under many no small trials, and now about fifty years of age, in good and very commendable repute for Christianity as well as family and neighborly civility, yet Self-murder. cast herself this morning, as soon as up, into a well ; was drowned : all her profession issued in such a snuff !

Lord, let not Satan's followers by it be strengthened in sin, nor thy servants discouraged at all from loving, serving, and trusting in thee !

Dec. 8. A blazing star seen ten days before December. by some. This winter, in December, came Col. Cartwright to town from Monhatos, and, a few days after, Mr. Maverick ; and upon 4th of 12th mo. came Sir Robert Carr ; and, 16th day, they all three went hence toward Plymouth, accompanied with the major-general and his troop

¹ Hull was perhaps one of these. See Appendix B.

² The original draught, with the signatures of the "elders," is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. A second, with variations, was afterwards drawn up. See Appendix D.

of horse to Milton, and with Capt. Davis¹ and most of the troop to Hingham.

The day before they departed, they had conference with some of our magistrates.

A comet with a blaze appeared about 8th of November, and did not wholly disappear till about February; as see Mr. Thomas Danforth's² description in print.

Most of the 11th and 12th mo. was very temperate; little frost, only not much clear sunshine. On the 19th February, the winter did, as it were, begin again. A cold spring: no tree budded until the 1st of May. Season
of year.

All employments, a smite upon them; at least, in general, all men are rather going backward than increasing their estates.

14th, 12th. Mr. Samuel Torrey ordained a pastor at Weymouth.

23d, 12th. A fast in Boston, by the appointment of our elders and consent of the church, that the Lord would sanctify all his chastisements, supply us with a teacher, and preserve our civil and ecclesiastical privileges. A Fast.

15th of 1st, '64-5. Our honored Governor, Mr. John Endicott, departed this life, — a man of pious and zealous spirit, who had very faithfully endeavored the suppression of a pestilent generation, the troublers of our peace civil and ecclesiastical, called Quakers. Death of
Mr. Endicott.

He died poor, as most of our rulers do, having more attended the public than their own private interests.

It is our shame: though we are indeed a poor people, yet might better maintain our rulers than we do.

¹ Of the Artillery Company.

² It was *Samuel* Danforth, minister of Roxbury, who published an account of this comet. He died in 1674.

"Danforthus, qui stellis semper se associavit." — *Mather's "Magnalia."*

However, they have a good God to reward them.

22d of 1st was appointed by the council for a solemn fast throughout this Colony for ourselves, in all our public concernments; and for England, their peace, and freedom of the faithful ministry of God's word.

12th, 2d. About this time, the king's commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Col. Cartwright, and Mr. Maverick, were ready to return, having kept their court at ———, Narrowgansett, Paukatneck, and Warwick, where they possessed and dispossessed several of lands; gave unto two Indian sachems, Ninegrett and Pessacus, scarlet silver-laced coats, sword, and belt; accepted crowns of wompum-peage from them.

Sir Robert returned by way of Plymouth; Col. Cartwright by Natick, being desirous to view the bounds of our patent on that south part.

At Warwick they granted protection to one Porter that escaped from our prison, being here sentenced to severe correction for very great injuries and high abuses to his own father and mother, &c.

They spake in their writings, given forth under their hand and seal, of the United Colonies as a usurped authority.

And of the war against the Pequotts formerly as unlawful, and possession of their conquered lands as without right.

May 1. Col. Richard Nichols came in here from New York, that so all the king's honored commissioners, being together, might communicate their instructions from his majesty unto our General Court. 3d of May being Election Day, they were pleased to be a while present in Court, and see our order in election, showing civility and courtesy.

And at night gave to the soldiery that were that day on the guard five twenty-shilling pieces of gold.

They had on May 2 communicated something to part of the Court that were come together, and 4th of May did

impart more. The first day of the Court there was about seventy freemen admitted, sundry whereof were not members of any particular church, which had been the general rule of admission hitherto. The honored commissioners seem to be elaborate in turning every stone to find the faults of this Colony and government, and to manage them to our disadvantage.

SOME OF MY OWN MEDITATIONS.¹

. . . . If we of New England have why are we imposed upon? why do any, in his majesty's name, protest against us, discourage magistrates, and sit, without our consent, in our jurisdiction?

God, in the king, has committed the care of rule to the government here: they may not suffer any rule to be publicly practised which is not of divine ordination.

We may, while not failing (?) in modesty, plead with our king the end why we came here to this wilderness the worship of God.

Others that came hither do and will ruin the constitution of the country.

Strangers, though Englishmen, have no R[ight?] to think they may come hither, and seek the subversion of our civil and ecclesiastical politics.

April 29. At New Haven was distinctly and plainly heard the noise of guns, two, three, five at a time, a great part of the day, being only such noises in the air.

¹ The disgust which the commissioners excited, and the questions at issue between them and the Colonial government, are very fully explained by Hutchinson. Hull has clothed his somewhat rebellious animadversions on "the honored commissioners" in the most crabbed short-hand of which he is ever guilty. Enough, however, is deciphered above to show the drift of his meditations. He would, apparently, have had the government of the Colony prohibit the sessions of the commission.

The same day, at evening, a house at Northampton [was] fired by lightning; a part of the timber split; a man in it killed. Help coming in, they quenched the fire.

At Narriganset, in Mr. Edward Hutchinson's flock of sheep, were several monsters.

In July were very many noises heard by several towns on Long Island, from the sea, distinctly, of great guns and small, and drums; and, about ten o'clock in a clear day, many companies of armed men in the air, clothed in light-colored garments, and the commanders in sad.

June 22 appointed by the council, and kept by all the Colony, as a solemn fast.

This summer, multitudes of flying caterpillars arose out of the ground and from roots of corn, making such a noise in the air that travellers must speak loud to hear one another; yet they only seized upon the trees in the wilderness.

The wheat generally blasted, and the blast this year took hold of Conecticot and New Haven; yet the Indian, barley, pease, and rye was spared.

July 15. Richard Davenport, the Captain of the Castle, slain, with lightning, upon his bed: several of the soldiers struck speechless for a time, and full of pain.

A house in Boston broken in several places, — chimney-top, roof, sides [one word in short-hand].

A lighter's mast at Charltown shivered to pieces with it.

Aug. 3. Capt. Peirce and Benjamin Gillam set sail, laden for England.

Col. Cartwright¹ went with Mr. Gillam.

Our church sent to Dr. Owen by Mr. Peirce.

Aug. 18. A great hail-storm; viz., at Linn, Wooborn,

¹ The ship was taken by the Dutch. Cartwright was deprived of his papers; and he could never recover them. (Hutchinson.) This was good news to the Colonies, as it was reasonably presumed they were intended to be used for their injury. See p. 221.

and Billirica. Some hail as big as ducks' eggs, many as pullets' eggs; divers of them snagged like pike-bullets.

May 28. Some time this summer, several Anabaptists — Thomas Gould, Edward Drinker, William Turnor, John George, Thomas Osborn — gathered themselves privately into a church, baptized themselves, administered the supper: meet every Lord's Day.

Sept. 4. [They] were examined before the magistrates, and bound over to the Court; by the Court admonished, and charged to cease their meetings.¹

Sept. 8. Five Mohawke Indians sent home by the Court with a guard, being lately taken armed, and had killed one of the Indians that live near the English; but profess they were charged by their sachem not to hurt any of the English, nor English Indians that wear English clothes.

The Commissioners for the United Colonies kept not their wonted yearly meeting this year. The Lord grant it be not portentous!

Last spring began a fierce war with the Dutch and French against our nation.

Nov. 8. Kept as a day of solemn thanksgiving that the Lord was pleased to spare so much of the fruits of the earth; that we had not want, but were able to supply other countries; and likewise the continuance of our health and present peace.

22d. Kept likewise, by appointment of the Court, for solemn humiliation, to beg mercy at God's hands for our dear native land, in respect of the raging pestilence, fear of famine, continuance of war; and likewise that we might find continuance of peace and health, and enjoyment of spiritual and civil liberties from the favor of the king's majesty.

¹ See Benedict's "History of the Baptists."

This summer, one ———, of Long Island, told his sons, he dreamed he fought with devils, and they took his hat from him. He was soon after found dead in the way from his meadow-home, killed, as supposed, by lightning, and his hat some few rods from him, cut as if it was by art. His sons reported he told them the dream.

Dec. 8. An extraordinary tempest of wind at south-east in the night, at south-west all the morning and forenoon. A ketch from Barbados, Mr. Shute, master, with all his company and passengers, lost near Salem.

Very unsettled weather the last of November and the first half of December.

Two women died in childbed ; several miscarried, some hardly escaping with life.

Cold
Winter. Jan. 5. The first week in January, the frosts were violent. Charles River was passed over on foot, and only the channel open before Boston. About 12th January, all open again, and 25th all frozen again, and Boston Channel, all down to the castle, passable to any. 30th January, all open again. Feb. 6, all frozen again down to the castle. 11th February, began to open to the channel, and so gradually.

All these trials are not to be mentioned with England's great affliction by the pestilence and dearth, and war with the Dutch. The good Lord spare and teach our nation to draw near to him !

25th January celebrated as a solemn fast by our church at Boston, and to go in course through the Bay churches.

Fasts. Feb. 6, kept at Roxbury ; 14th, at Cambridge ; 27th, at Dorchester ; March 14, at Weymouth ; 23d, at Charltown.

One thing remarkable in the summer past : The country's letters to the king's majesty and to other of our friends, whereby our innocency was to be cleared,

Mercies.

and any accusation that ill-will to us might have helped the king's commissioners withal to our damage, — the country sent them to Pascataqua, to be sent unto England by one Capt. Harison, a ship that came for masts. The ship had just set sail as the letters came; and the commissioners' letters were in said ship. Master Peirce took his boat with six oars to put those letters aboard, but could not. The said letters went safe by Master Peirce. The said Harison's ship, we hear since, is taken by the Dutch; and so Master Gillam's ship, in which Col. Cartwright returned with all their complaints, though in that ship many merchants lose much, it being laden with the returns.

One great flood this winter, which at Pascaque did much hurt in their sawmills, and some small hurt in ^{Floods.} several parts of the country unto mills; but, at the Dutch plantation between New York and Albany, carried away near sixty houses, many of them fair brick dwelling-houses, and some had much goods in them.

1666, April 5. A day of humiliation appointed by the council, and kept by the churches.

A very wet and cold spring. A snow, April 26; and cold until May 7. The apple-trees put forth leaves but the 10th of May.

June 9. Came in Master Clarke's ship: brought us word of the cessation of the plague at London, but of war with France as well as Holland; also of Dr. John Owen's likely coming hither.¹

21st. A day of humiliation kept in the churches' hereabout.

A very dry summer; most of the grain in the Bay and southward almost scorched up; much Indian eaten up with worms.

¹ See private Diary.

Only at Boston, the caterpillar, which for several years past had devoured their apples, did very little hurt.

12th, 4th. About this time, here came above two hundred persons from Christopher's, and brought the news, that the French had put them to the sword, and, after victory obtained, given them liberty to transport themselves; that Nevis were forced to stand upon their guard. The country took care for supply of those in present want, and for transport to Barbados, or any warm country, of those that desired it, and was not able to pay their own passage.

28th, about this time, at ———, were slain with lightning.

July 15. A Dutch ship of war on our coast took four vessels; viz., two as coming from Virginia, one from Conecticot, one bound to a new plantation, from Newbury.

Aug. 7. Master Peirce came in with several ships for masts for the king. Mr. Maverick had a significavit, under ^{King's} ^{majesty} ^{angry.} the hand of Secretary Morris, but not superscribed nor sealed, that his majesty's command was, that four or five of chief should be sent to answer in the country's behalf, — of which Gov. Bellingham and Major Hawthorn was to be two, — upon their allegiance.

Aug. 15. *Our private meeting kept as a day of fasting at our house.*

A French ship of a hundred tons brought in as prize by Master Goose, sent out by Sir Thomas Temple.

Sept. 10. Another French ship brought in prize by said Goose, by permission of the country.

Sept. 14. Two French ships brought in prizes by Benjamin Gillam, by permission of the country.

The General Court now sat in council about the significavit, Sept. 12. *The mmm. [? ministers] and magistrates pray with*

*the Governor; call God to guide them what to do.*¹ They concluded to write, and send a present, — two brave masts, — but sent no person to answer in our behalf.

Oct. 15. The Court sat again, but continued of the same mind.

30th. Master Clark, Master Peirce, with twenty-one other ships and vessels, sailed out of Nantaskett, all except three of them bound for England, carrying the returns of the country for this year.

Nov. 8 appointed to be kept as a day of thanksgiving throughout the country or colony.

As the cold increased, so did the disease of the small-pox. It became very mortal. Betwixt forty and fifty died in this town of Boston. Several hundreds had it.

Dec. 9. Rev. Mr. Thompson having been a disconsolate man many years, the sabbath before he died he had some lighting of mind. He intended to go to the public meeting, and to administer the supper, which was that day to be celebrated, but was not able to go; and he spent the sabbath in singing and holy duties in his own house. Soon came a cloud again; and, on the ninth day, he died away as a man in a sleep.

16th instant. Upon a sabbath morning, the ice cut the cables of above eight ships, four whereof were ready to sail for England. All forced on shore; and get off they could not until the 2d of 11th month, which was three days after the spring-tides in ordinary course. God, having tried them, set them again at liberty; and, about 11th, they set sail for England with the rest of this year's returns. 12th, 11th.

6th, 1st. Came in Capt. Martin, from England. Brought news of the burning of London in 2d September last.

¹ "It is ordered, that some of the reverend elders, that are or may be in town, be desired to be present with the General Court on the morrow morning, and to begin the Court and spend the forenoon in prayer." — *Col. Rec. Sept. 11, 1666.*

Also that the fleet which sailed hence 30th October were most of them safely arrived.

Sir Robert Carr returned for England in a small ship bound for Bristol. Since, we heard he died¹ as soon as came into England.

21st, 1st, was appointed by the council for a solemn fast through the Colony.

1667. The spring pretty forward. April 12, the apple-trees put forth their leaves.

We are informed, this winter hath been fatal for the small-pox in some places. The Island of Madeira buried.

Our English lost Montser Ratt [Montserrat] this winter, and Antego [Antigua].

We have some noises of late of the mustering of the French situate in Canada, that they, in ('65), came over the lake toward Albanie, and built several forts there.

25th, 3d. Samuel Rugles, of Roxbury, going up the meeting-hill, was struck by lightning,—his two oxen and horse killed; a chest in the cart, with goods in it, burnt in sundry places; himself coming off the cart, carried twenty foot from it, yet no abiding hurt.

Aug. 7. Mr. John Wilson, the reverend pastor of our church, died, being about seventy-eight years old, and, for forty years together, singularly eminent for the exercise of faith and love. Died about four in the morning. Buried eighth day after lecture. Mr. [Richard] Mather preached.

Aug. 16. Our church kept a fast, that the Lord would please to direct us in a right way as to the supplies of our church.

1667, August. Here was a general contribution towards the supply of his majesty's ships now in the Indies to regain Christopher's Island. Capt. John Allen sent with a

¹ June 1, 1667, at Bristol.

shipload, and the freight paid, to be presented to the Lord Willoughby.

Sept. 13. The said ship sailed hence with the "Castle" frigate, one Capt. Ady, master, who came to victual here, and several other ships laden for Barbados.

Sept. 14. A small vessel came in from Ireland, and brought news the ambassadors were returned from the treaty at Bredah, *re infecta*; that the demands of the Dutch was the Islands of Orcades, north of Scotland; ——— Island, in East Indies; free fishing in the narrow seas; to make the act concerning navigation, or prohibiting them trade with our English plantations, void; and an indemnity for all that have assisted them in this war.

About 10th June last, they burnt six great ships of his majesty at Chatham, and carried from thence the "Royal Charles:" made her their admiral.

Nov. 1. But it pleased God to bring intelligence of a peace concluded between England, France, and Holland.

15th. Kept by the Colony a day of thanksgiving.

16th, 18th, 24th, and 27th. Several ships arrived safe from London, with supplies to the country; and such a moderate winter, as that we despatched them, laden with the returns of the country, all by 5th 12th.

Dec. 4. Kept by the Colony a fast appointed by the council, for Christopher's Island, and to obtain blessings for ourselves and England. Many wished it might be changed to a day of thanks; but the council met not, &c.

This winter was exceeding moderate; scarce one extreme cold day, and, a great part of it, very little frost. The sheep, in most places, scarce eat any hay; and the spring came on very forward. Apple-trees began to blossom April 18.

18th of 12th. A comet was seen in the south-west, much like a bundle of twigs or a rod: no star discerned with it. Ap-

peared about seven o'clock in the evening ; went down before ten o'clock. It was seen but three or four nights, we supposed partly by reason of dark weather, and also because of the new moon. At the first night, it gave a pretty great light.

1668, April 3. Was an earthquake about nine in the morning, very sensibly to be discerned, yet without any noise. Its continuance was about two minutes.

April 14, 15. Was a public dispute between six of our ministers¹ and a company of Anabaptists, in Boston meeting-house, who had, against the laws of the country, gathered themselves into a church. Three of them were excommunicate persons. They had been several times admonished by the Court not to persist in their meeting, or administration of the seals, but charged to hear the word in some of the public congregations ; but they would not obey. In the public dispute, they behaved themselves exceeding obstinately, absurdly, and ignorantly. [Two lines of illegible shorthand.]

April 8. Mr. Samuel Shepherd, minister of Rowley, died. His wife died about two months before him.

April 18. The Bridge towne, at Barbados, was burned in the night in five hours.

27th, 2d. Mr. Henry Flynt died, having lain a week sick of a fever ; and so the church of Braintree left desolate of their teacher, as before they were bereaved of Mr. Thompson, their pastor.

2d, 3d. At three or four in the afternoon, came Mr. John Davinport to town, with his wife,² son, and son's family, and

¹ Allen of Boston, Cobett of Lynn, Higginson of Salem, Danforth of Roxbury, Mitchell of Cambridge, and Shephard of Charlestown. Two days were spent to little purpose. In the close, Master Jonathan Mitchell pronounced that dreadful sentence against them in Deut. chap. xvii. ver. 8-12. (Benedict.)

² From New Haven.

was met by many of the town. A great shower of extraordinary drops of rain fell as they entered the town; but Mr. Davinport and his wife were sheltered in a coach of Mr. Searl's, who went to meet them.

2d, 3d, came in John Fairweather, from London; and, 4th of 3d, came in Master John Peirce, Master Hawes, and Master Tytherly, all from England.

This General Court of Election, Thomas Gould, William Turner, and John Farnum,¹ were called before them; asked whether, after all pains taken to convince them of their evils, they would lay down their assemblings, and cease profaning the holy ordinances, — the supper and baptism: but, with great obstinacy, they professed themselves bound to continue in these ways, and were ready to seal it with their blood.

The General Court sent a shipload of masts as a present to the king's majesty.

9th of 5th month. Rev. Mr. Mitchell² died, the chief remaining pillar of our ministry.

¹ Members of the first Baptist church in Boston. Gould was its first minister. He was of the Charlestown church. His account of the treatment he received from it is in Benedict, i. 385. "Denying the validity of infant baptism, the Court considered the Baptists as making us all unbaptized persons, and consequently no regular churches, ministers, or ordinances." Gould and his companions were ordered to leave the jurisdiction before the 20th of July. Refusing obedience, they were imprisoned more than a year; after which, Gould went to Noddle's Island, and died in 1675. His name, says Benedict, "ought to be recorded on the tallest page of the history of the New-England Baptists."

"Turner was a member of the church in Dartmouth, England. He accepted a captain's commission in King Philip's war, and lost his life in defence of the Colony in which he was most cruelly oppressed." (Benedict.) Capt. Turner was killed in Philip's war, May 18, 1676.

"Concerning means for the suppression and restraint of these spiritual evils, errors, heresies, &c., as imprisonment, banishment, interdictions, finings, &c. Both reason and experience concur in this demonstration, that such fetters as these, put on the feet of errors and heresies to secure and keep them under, still have proved wings whereby they raise themselves the higher in the thoughts and minds of men, and gain an opportunity of further propagation." (Goodwin's "Theomachia," 1644, quoted by Miall.)

² Jonathan Mitchell, minister of Cambridge, aged forty-two.

29th, 5th month. A fast at Cambridge, where Mr. John Eliot preached, and, soon after, fell sick with an eruption of blood, and, in a few weeks, died.

20th of 6th month. Arrived Master Clark's ship in safety, and, soon after, Master Scarlett's. Much English goods brought into the country this year.

Present peace in all Europe; but the Protestants much oppressed in France, and many of their public meeting-places taken from them. The Nonconformists in England have no liberty to preach. Many fears of a massacre from the Popish party in England, heightened from the coming over of Frenchmen in small companies; likewise of the city of London remaining yet, to be again burnt.

Sept. 8 and 9. A general training at Cambridge.

Oct. 13. Mr. John Eliot,¹ pastor of church at New Cambridge, died.

About 26th of 6th, were seen at Wethersfield, a town in Connecticut Colony, a very great swarm of flies, near a mile in breadth and two miles long, thick as bees, taking their course south.

Very temperate winter.

Dec. 9. Mr. Davenport and Mr. Allen ordained. The dissenting brethren² humbly, earnestly, and frequently entreated for their dismissal before the ordination, but could not obtain it; neither could they, without much trouble, enjoy communion at the table.

Earthquake: not much felt at Boston, but at Lancaster, Concord, Sudbury, &c.

1669. The spring comes on very sweetly: only it was very dry, so much that the ground began to chop.

¹ Son of Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury. His age was thirty-two.

² Of the First Church, of whom Hull was one. They formed the Third Church, as below. This passage, though written at another time from that above, alludes to Davenport and Allen's ordination. See Appendix E.

6th, 2d. Sundry ministers met at Charltown to advise whether they¹ ought not to apply themselves to the church, and acquaint them that they were grieved and offended at their refusal to dismiss their brethren, and move at their desire, and endeavor to censure them. That day was a great deal of rain.

13th, 2d. The elders of fifteen churches convened at the request of the dissenting brethren, and sat a council at Boston.

16th, 2d. Gave in their conclusion. The elders and the church refused all their applications to them.

20th, 2d. Rev. Mr. John Reynor, of Dover church, the teacher, died.

23d. Rev. Mr. Richard Mather, teacher of the church at Dorchester, died. The church of Boston would not let him into the doors, when he, with sundry others, waited with a letter from the council to them; but the Lord soon opened his way into the church triumphant.

12th, 3d. The third church in Boston gathered or coalesced in Charltown. Six magistrates opposed it, — R. B., S. S., W. H., J. L., E. L., E. T.² Eight magistrates encouraged it; and no ministers opposed, but encouraged, except J. A., J. D., and S. M.³

26th, 4th. Rev. Mr. William Woodward, a young but powerful preacher, died at Dedham.

1st, 3d, 4th. Old Boniface Burton died, being a hundred and fifteen years.

5th, 6th. A great wind most part of the night, and in the morning till about ten o'clock, like a hurricane, part at S.E.,

¹ i.e., "the dissenting brethren."

² Richard Bellingham, Samuel Symonds, William Hathorne, John Leverett, Eleazar Lusher, Edward Tyng.

³ James Allen, John Davenport. For S. M., see APPENDIX F.

N.E., N., N.W. Many fishing-boats in the bay much ado to ride, though they cast overboard their ballast, &c.: sundry cast away. A ship of Mr. John Cutts overset on the shoals, and the men all lost.

The spring was very promising for fruitful year, the summer very wet. Many fears that there would be very little hay obtained out of meadows: but all or most of the churches sought the Lord by fasting; and, from about 10th, 6th, the weather continued fair and hot, that those fears were removed. Many children died of the flux and vomiting.

17th 9ber. A day of public thanksgiving throughout the Colony.

9ber. A third meeting-house erected in Boston.¹

2d, 12th. Mr. Benjamin Bunker, minister at Malden, died.

1670, 16th, 1st. Mr. John Davinport, pastor of the first church in Boston, died.

In the month of June was a strange mortality of fishes in a pond near Cambridge, the manner whereof was wonderful, and the number ——— cartloads.

The summer very drougthy.

5th, 6th. A barn at Ipswidge burnt down with lightning, full of corn and hay.

7th, 6th. A great storm of wind, with much rain.

17th, 6th. A church of the Indians gathered at Sandwich. John Bowen² ordained the minister.

22d 7ber. A day of public humiliation.

24th 9ber. A day of public thanksgiving.

The winter very moderate.

4th, 12th. Mr. Zachariah Symmes,³ pastor of Charltown church, died.

¹ The Old South Church.

² Probably Bourne.

³ Aged seven-two. He was the second minister of Charlestown.

23d, 12th. The men of Long Island, this winter, made a hundred or two tuns of oil of whales that they there kill.

1671, 1st, 1st. A day of public humiliation.

4th, 2d. Mr. Francis Willoughby,¹ our honored Deputy-Governor, died.

Mr. William Stoughton, an able preacher and very pious, but not yet persuadable to take any office charge in any church, was chosen into the magistracy, and accepted the same.

5th, 5th. Mr. Urian Oakes arrived here from England for the help of Cambridge church.

Mr. Joshua Moody ordained at Pascataqua. Mr. ——— Reynor² likewise at Dover.

A man at Ipswich repeating a sermon, and, because it was darkish, stood at a door or window, as a flash of lightning stunned him; but no hurt. His Bible being under his arm, the whole book of Revelation was carried away, and the other parts of the Bible left untouched.

26th of 6th. Rev. Mr. John Allin, pastor of the church at Dedham, died.

23d of 7th. A church of Indians gathered at Nipmug, or Forty-mile River.

7th 8ber. Mr. James Penn, ruling elder of the first church in Boston, died.

19th 8ber. A day of public thanksgiving.

8ber 21. We received intelligence that William Foster,

¹ Francis Willoughby, Deputy-Governor. He died April 4, 1671 (Farmer), requesting "to be buried one foot deep, and to have the top of the grave plain, only covered with the turfs of the grass." Noadiah Adams describes the manner of his funeral. Eleven foot companies were in attendance, "with the doleful noise of trumpets and drums, in their mourning posture, three thundering volleys of shot discharged, answered with the loud roaring of the great guns, rending the heavens with noise at the loss of so great a man." He resided in Charlestown, was much employed in the business of the Colony, and "a great opposer of the persecutions against the Baptists."

² Rev. John Reynor.

master of a small ship, was taken by the Turks as he was going to Bilboa with fish. (He was redeemed, and came home 9ber, 1673.)

9ber 23. In afternoon, the wind came up at east : it snowed fast ; and, in the evening, grew exceedingly a very tempestuous night, and much snow. Several vessels lost, yet the persons generally saved. John Harris, with his ketch, put on shore at the Garnet Beach, near Plymouth. About 15th of December, the weather was very moderate, and so continued till 20th of January.

9ber 8. Mr. Urian Oakes was ordained pastor to the church of Cambridge, as successor to the Rev. Mr. Mitchell.

Dec. 27. Mr. Josiah Flynt was ordained pastor to the church at Dorchester, as successor to Mr. Richard Mather. Thus the Lord beginneth to look with an eye of mercy upon the widow state of some of our churches.

Jan. 30. This County Court, three or four young men were convicted of several burglaries in breaking open warehouses, ketches, and cellars ; Marry Moor and several, of fornication ; some suspected for re-iterated whoredom ; and also one Alice Thomas, of great suspicion to keep a brothel-house. The good Lord give check to such wickedness, and grant it be not a punishment judicial ! (Hos. iv. 13, 14.)

Jan. 21, 22. The winter returned in severity : the bay full of ice in two nights ; cut Master Greenough three cables, sent his ship adrift and another ketch, but continued not, but became pretty moderate again.

19th, 12th. Mr. Charles Chauncey, President of the College, died, being eighty years old, and had been seventeen years president.

1672, 22d, 3d. The General Court kept a fast among themselves, and five ministers appointed to carry on the work of it, and many other ministers present.

June 14 was kept as a day of humiliation in all this Colony, because of a great drought ; and the Lord heard prayer, and sent sufficient rain, that recovered those fruits that were near gone, and nourished all the rest. Yet, in hay-harvest, much hay was lost by an overmuch rain.

July 8. Dr. Leonard Hoar arrived at Boston from London, being sent for by the third church in Boston : but, the President of the College being dead, it was the earnest desire of the ministers and magistrates that they would spare him for that work ; and, upon Nov. 15, they did yield him up to that service.¹

13th, 5th. Mr. Alexander Nowell, a Fellow of the College, died.

July 19. Two dwelling-houses, with some other warehouses, were burned in Boston ; and it was a very great deliverance of the whole town, because the wind ^{Fires.} carried broad flakes of fire, being cedar-shingles and clapboards, over a great many houses, and kindled upon sundry of them. But, help being at hand, they were preserved. Fire was carried into the Common a full quarter of a mile from the place burned, being James Hill's and John Wallie's houses.² Sundry deliverances this year also of this town from fire.

This summer, very many in most parts of the country, from west to east, from south to north, were taken with agues ; and it proved mortal to many. And ^{Diseases.} at the latter end of the year, about October, some was thought to have the spotted fever about Ipswige, Wenham,

¹ A letter from Hon. John Quincy Adams — see Appendix A — speaks of a volume of MS. Reports of Leonard Hoar's sermons during this period, which, in 1839, he saw in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library. We have not been able to find this MS., which is perhaps by Hull.

² See private Diary at this date.

and Salem ; and then Rev. Mr. Antipas Newman, pastor of the church at Wenham, died 15th of 8th mo.

Eclipse
of sun. Aug. 12. About noon, there was a great eclipse of the sun, total or very near.

15th, 8th. The divisions of the church of Newbury were a matter of great exercises to the churches and ministers, and to the General Court, many too much abetting one Edmund Woodman and his party ; viz., about five magistrates, and above twenty deputies, and two ministers ; viz., Mr. James Allin and Mr. John Oxenbridge : but it pleased God in 9ber 8, by a committee sent by the General Court, they were convinced, and both parties united.

9ber 20. Appointed by the General Court for a day of public thanksgiving throughout this Colony.

9ber 14. Sergeant-Major Eleazer Lusher, one of our honored magistrates, died ; and, 18th 9ber, was honorably interred, attended by ten foot-companies and three troops of horse, at Dedham.

Deaths.

Sundry persons died, in 7ber and 8ber, of voiding much blood and some worms, — persons of grown age and young men.

9ber 10. A very great easterly storm, and, being about the full moon, brought in so great a tide as hath not been this thirty-six years ; filled most of the cellars near the water-side ; flowed more or less into many warehouses ; greatly damnified many merchants in their goods and in their wharves ; and one vessel cast away in Ipswidge Bay, going to Black Point, and seven persons drowned thereby.

Tempests.

This summer, we hear of war against the Hollanders by the French and our own nation ; and, 29th of May, had a great sea-fight, wherein the Hollander was much worsted, yet great loss to all parties ; and this summer,

Wars.

the French, by land, hath much prevailed against the Hollander, and taken much of their country.

Dec. 24. Appointed and kept as a public fast throughout this Colony.

Dec. 7. Richard Bellingham, Esq., the honored Governor of the Colony, departed this life.

11th, 10th. Dr. Leonard Hoar constituted President of the College.

A very moderate winter, excepting two weeks of cold. Mr. John Winthrop recovered again, though buried his wife.¹

1673, 21st of the 1st. We received intelligence from Barbados, that upon 24th, 11th, was burned above thirty houses, in the night, in the street called the New-England Street.

21st of the 1st. Our Castle fell on fire, and was burned; only the powder saved, and most of the officers' and soldiers' goods.

22d, 1st. The magistrates, in Boston and the towns adjacent, issued out an order for a contribution of fifteen hundred pounds to repair it speedily.

1673, 29th of 1st. Mr. Thomas Prince, Governor of Plymouth Colony, died, — a man wise, faithful, loving, modest, and humble.

The months of March and April were very cold. Many cattle died throughout most parts of the country, men's stover being very short, much hay being lost last autumn by great rains and high tides. The wind continued easterly almost all the month of April. Most part of May was cold.

¹ The Governor of Connecticut, son of the Governor of Massachusetts, is the John Winthrop alluded to. A sketch of his life will be found in the Memoir of Lieut.-Gov. Thomas Lindall Winthrop, President of the American Antiquarian Society, contained in this volume.

18th May, at Wenham, a solemn providence: It being the sabbath day, Mr. Higginson, sen., preached there; and after sermon, going into Mrs. Newman's with several Christians, as they sat discoursing, there was a storm of hail, with thunder, and one man in the house struck dead, yet none other hurt; but the house, in another room, much split in the posts, &c.

June 13. A day of humiliation in this Colony.

Some troubles this summer arose in the College, so that Dr. Leonard Hoar, their new president, who was last year highly courted to accept the place, was now by some wished out of it again. I cannot say there was any apparent cause for it, more than that God seems to threaten to make division in all orders our punishment, as we too readily do make them our sin.

July 30. The Dutch took New York from the English.

August. We was also alarmed with an enemy, and therefore made considerable haste to rebuild our burned castle, and renew the fortifications in the towns bordering on the sea, specially Boston, Charltown, Salem, and Pascataque. The Dutch came with seven men of war and twelve other ships, where, by the way, they did much spoil in Verginiah to their ships, and came and took New York in August, which was indeed very ill kept, else might have been still kept; and, the beginning of this winter, the Dutch took four of our ketches, and, being demanded, refused to deliver them or pay for them; made a demand of the inhabitants at the east end of Long Island to yield, and come under their government; that, had not the winter come suddenly, we might probably had a war with them. But all is yet deferred; and, indeed, many in this part of the country, specially inland towns, are very averse to war, yet, through

mercy, a general sense of the anger of God appearing in this threatening, and the issue unknown to us.

Three sessions of the General Court this winter, — September, October, December.

In the last year and this, during the continuance of the war with the Dutch nation, our country hath lost very many vessels and a very considerable estate; being taken by the Dutch in all parts where we trade or are going to the ports of our traffic. They make no difference between New England and Old.

28th, 6th, was a public fast: one cause, the Dutch come so near; another cause, great floods drowning the meadows.

9ber 26. A public day of thanksgiving for the peaceable and comfortable inning of the fruits of the earth.

Dec. 3. Mr. ——— Adams¹ ordained pastor to the church of Dedham.

Dec. 11. A fast to implore the Lord's guidance and protection, now an enemy was come so near us, and also had begun to do us spoil. They took four ketches. The Dutch at New York went beyond us in statecraft. They had taken several of our vessels; and here were some of theirs staid, though not feared: but they, by a flourishing promise to set ours free in case theirs were released; which we attended, but they kept all ours.

11th, 12th. A fast only at the North Church.

The winter very moderate as to frost; pretty much snow and wet weather.

Division began at Salem between Mr. ——— Nicolet,² a

¹ William Adams, second minister of Dedham, graduated 1671; died Aug. 17, 1685.

² Rev. Charles Nicholet. He had a call from a new church gathered at Lynn, but was not settled, and soon after went to England. (Farmer.)

stranger, who came, about July, 1672, from Virginia, and supposed in part invited by Mr. Higginson, but now afflictive to good Mr. John Higginson. [He] went out of the church in sermon-time, on the Lord's Day, and drew others after him. Yet he seemed to be a zealous preacher, and, at least outwardly, humble man, and full of affection, though peradventure less fully fixed in some truths.

26th, 12th. Difficulties began again in the College. Overseers meet.

1674, 2d, 1st. Committee meet at Cambridge.

26th, 1st. A public fast.

In April, we had the good news of peace concluded between England and Holland, being done in February last.

This summer, the Anabaptists that were wont to meet at Noddle's Island met at Boston on the Lord's Day. One Mr. Symond Lind¹ letteth one of them a house, which formerly was Mr. Ruck's.

Some Quakers are also come and seated in Boston.

Some of the magistrates will not permit any punishment to be inflicted on heretics as such.

Sept. 24. A public day of thanksgiving.

October. At this General Court, the President of the College was charged as formerly, but with more vehemency, as the only hinderer of the college welfare; when, as by most indifferent hearers of the case, it was thought, that, would those that accused him had but countenanced and encouraged him in his work, he would have proved the best president that ever yet the college had.

9ber 30. Rev. Mr. Samuel Danforth, pastor of the church of Roxbury, died.

¹ Lynde, afterwards one of the magistrates. He was employed as translator and interpreter to the Court in their intercourse with the Dutch. He died Nov. 21, 1687.

Dec. 8. Some endeavors to gather a church of some new members at Salem, to whom Mr. Nicholet should officiate, who met at Lynn, and proceeded so far that they had seven messengers from Boston Old Church; but four of them, having declared God's workings on them, showed so much of ignorance that their proceeding was hindered.

Dec. 15. A fast at Roxbury.

The weather began this month cold, but grew pretty temperate for three weeks together.

Dec. 23. Mr. Nehemiah Hubbard¹ ordained a pastor to the church at New Cambridge.

29th. Mr. Oxenbridge, pastor of the Old Church, died.

A fast at the Old Church. Mr. Increase Mather helped.

A Scotch minister, Mr. Woodrop,² arrived from Jamaica.

Much snow in the 11th month, and several cold fits most of this month; yet the harbors, nor Charles Ferry, scarce shut up from passage any one day.

14th, 11th. A fast at the Old Church, where Mr. Increase Mather helped in preaching and prayer.

From 15th, 12th, to 22d, very cold; 19th, 20th, 21st, as cold a time as in many years, and so dry and windy that the dust blew like snow.

1675. All the 1st month pretty cold; the 2d month very raw and cold until 21st day; then began to be a little warm, and the sun to shine, which it had done but now and then a day for a month together; wind had been constantly easterly.

May 3. Peach-trees blossomed.

In the first month, a murder committed about Pascataque.

¹ The name of *Hobart* was often thus confounded with Hubbard. He was the second minister of Newton, and died Aug. 12, 1712.

² William *Woodroffe*, an ejected English minister, "preached at Lancaster, Springfield, and other places, between 1670 and 1680." (Farmer.)

A Scotchman and a Frenchman killed their master, buried him in a cellar; for which they were both executed at Boston.

25th, 1st. A public fast.

April 20. A man found dead near Brantrey, cast upon shore: on search, found to be murdered and to be a Virginian.

4th of 3d. A (part of a) ship belonging to Lyme, this morning arrived from Virginia, was blown up; viz., the great cabin. Sundry wounded sorely; Mr. John Frethe taken up dead; Mr. Smith, the merchant, died the same day; Capt. Sam. Scarlet,¹ the next day. Their bones much shattered. Sundry others with broken bones, and sorely hurt.

5th, 3d. One ———, a merchant, of a ship from Lisbon riding at Nantascot, sailing in the boat yesterday, about the time that the other ship was blown up here, they upset the boat, and he was drowned. Brought up to Boston this day.

All the month of May very wet, only now and then a fair day. The 4th, 5th, and 6th months hot and dry for most part, yet pretty fruitful.

June 25, broke out a war with the Indians. It began at Swanzey, but ran through most of the out plantations. We got no victory over them, without some considerable loss, for about ten months after. The Lord, from beginning of May, 1676, delivered them frequently into our hands, without loss on our part.

See the history of the war, printed 1676.

29th, 4th. A public fast.

Several churches also fast at several times.

Aug. 29. A very violent storm, that exceedingly blew down the Indian corn and the fruit of trees; did also much

¹ Captain Scarlet is often mentioned by Hubbard and in this Diary, and made many voyages to and from London.

spoil on the wharves, and among the ships and vessels in Boston, to value supposed a thousand pounds.

13th of 11th. A public fast.

Nov. 28. Dr. Leonard Hoar, President of the College,¹ died.

Winter came in exceeding sharp in beginning.

December. The soldiers conflicted with much cold and snow.

Several particular fasts this year.

Feb. 10. Lancaster spoiled by the enemy.

21st. Medefeild in part burned by ditto.

March 13. Groton burned.

26th. Marlborough burned in part.

1676, 28th. Rehoboth assaulted.

April 6. John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of Conecticot, died in Boston.

April 18. Sudbury part burned by the enemy. Capt. Wadsworth, Capt. Brooklebanck, and sundry soldiers, slain.

The second and third months were very sickly through this Colony.

April 25. Major Symon Willard, one of our magistrates, died, — a pious, orthodox man.

Mr. Peter Lidget died, — an accomplished merchant.²

May 8. Some houses burnt at Bridgewater.

11th. Some also *toward* Plymouth.

May 14. Mr. Hezekiah Usher died, — a pious and useful merchant.

¹ "My cousin, the Dr. Hoar's widow, is married to Mr. Hezekiah Usher." (Hull to Edward Hull, Jan. 1, 1676-7, in Hull's letter-book.)

² Hull writes to Philip French, April 19, 1676: "This month hath been very fatal to N. E. Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, died on the 5th day thereof. On the 21st, valiant Capts. Wadsworth and Brocklebank, with about fifty soldiers, were slain by the Indians. On 25th, Mr. Simon Willard died of a fever, at Charlestown; and, 24th, our good friend and partner, Mr. Peter Lidget, died of a fever, at Boston. And who shall be next, the good Lord alone knoweth."

15th. Mr. Richard Russell died, — a magistrate and the Country Treasurer; a godly man.

16th. Mr. Joshua Attwater died.

18th. The Fall fight: many Indians slain.¹

24th. Capt. William Davis² died.

June 29. A day of public thanksgiving.

Aug. 12. Sagamore Philip, that began the war, was slain.³

8ber 31. One William Stoughton, Esq., one of our honored magistrates, and Mr. Peter Bulkley, sent as our messengers to England to the king's majesty.⁴

9ber 9. A day of public thanksgiving.

27th. A fire brake out two hours before day, and consumed about fifty dwelling-houses and the North Meeting-house. The Lord sent much rain, moderated the spreading of it.

Dec. 7. A public fast.

21st. Mr. John Reynor, minister of Dover, died of a cold and fever that he took in the field among the soldiers.

1677, 1st of 1st. A public fast.

9th of 1st month. A candle was fastened to the roof of a house, and burnt through the roof, yet was prevented

¹ The fight at the falls in the Connecticut River, near Greenfield, where Capt. Turner surprised and slew a large number of Indians, is commonly referred to as the "*Fall Fight*."

² Captain of the Artillery Company. He commanded a company in Ninegret's war, was a deputy for Springfield in 1658, and married a daughter of William Pynchon.

³ In Hull's letter-book, at this date, is this announcement: "Oct. 23, 1676. Here news come in from Virginia that they are more furiously engaged one against another than formerly. They tell us Jamestown is burned, and sundry slain. So that several intended hence for those parts do intend to lay aside their beginnings of such a voyage." (Hull to Allin).

⁴ An unsuccessful mission; and the agents returned to be reproached by their constituents. Bulkley was charged with too great compliance with Court measures; and his "sun," like that of Norton, "set in a cloud." Stoughton was afterwards solicited to accept the agency, but "could not be prevailed on to risk his reputation a second time." (Hutchinson.)

spreading through the wonderful providence of God ; but the authors not known.

June 25. Soldiers sent to Black Point ; Major Thomas Clarke, with three vessels, both thither and to Kenibeck, to treat with Capt. Nicolds from New York.

July 5. A public fast.

12th, 5th. A barn of Mr. John Usher's burnt down about one o'clock in the night. The houses round about all preserved. The authors not known.

Aug. 6. A candle lighted found stuck between two little houses of Mr. Bradon's, in Mr. Shrimpton's lane, about ten o'clock at night.

8th of 6th. A like endeavor to fire the town in Mr. Usher's lane. The hay in a barn fired ; but, being salt-marsh hay, it smothered, and did not hastily burn. About eleven o'clock at night, it was quickly quenched. No authors found.

Some time this summer, several ships came in from England, which, on the seas, had the small-pox ; and it took first in Charltown, whereof many died this winter.

9ber 15. A public day of thanksgiving.

Dec. 22. Mr. Thomas Shepherd¹ died of the small-pox.

Several particular churches kept fasts this winter.

Jan. 11. Mr. Samuel Brackenbury, physician, died of the small-pox.

10th. Mrs. Mary Norton² fell speechless.

17th. She died, and, 21st, was interred in her husband's tomb.

This winter was mostly moderate weather.

Feb. 21. A public fast.

1678, 24th, 1st. Mr. Thomas Walley, pastor of Barnstable, died.

¹ Minister of Charlestown.

² Widow of Rev. John Norton.

April 26. Mr. Noah Newman, pastor of the church at Rehoboth, died.

May 18. Mr. Joseph Brown, preacher at Charltown, died.

June 1. The captives taken by the Indians last winter from Hatfield, and carried to the French, were followed by Benjamin Wait and Thomas Jennings,¹ husbands to two of the women, who effected their redemption, and returned home with them. An order of the council for a contribution for them on the fast day, 6th, 4th.

June 6. A public fast in this Colony. The small-pox, since they first began, had seized upon about ——— persons; and about forty persons were dead of that disease. In Charltown, about so many also died since it began there, being in 5th month, '77, to this time. Above two hundred persons had had the disease there.

June 22. Mr. Edmund Brown, pastor of the church at Sudbury, died.

Sept. 22. To this time, there were about eighty persons at Charltown that died of the small-pox, and about seven hundred that have had the disease.

Oct. 3. To this time, there was about one hundred and eighty persons had died in Boston of the small-pox, in a little above a year's space since the disease began.

Oct. 12. Samuel Symonds, Esq., the Deputy-Governor, died in Boston, the General Court sitting.

Oct. 16. Mr. Thomas Thacher, senior pastor to the third church in Boston, died.

9ber 24. Mr. Joseph Rowlison (Rowlandson), minister at Wethersfield, died.

¹ "Having received authority from the government to ransom the captives, they commenced their hazardous journey on the 24th of October, and followed the enemy through New York, by the lakes, to Canada. They returned, after an absence of eight months, with nineteen of the prisoners." (Barber.)

4th, 11th. Mr. Daniel Russell, young minister, died of the small-pox.

23d, 11th. Mr. Peter Hubbard (Hobart), pastor of Hingham church, died.

Mr. John Norton succeedeth in his place.

Feb. 1. Mr. Ammy Corlet, Fellow of the College, died of the small-pox.

Dec. 27. One David Wyman, of Wooborn, taken with the small-pox, was distracted, and ran out of his bed barefoot, in his shirt, five miles to a friend's house. There was put into bed, but after died.

March 16. John Leverett, Esq., Governor of this Colony, died about four o'clock, on a sabbath morning.

1679, May 8. A fire kindled under Capt. Ben. Gillam's warehouse, supposed by most to be done on purpose to fire the town.

May 9. About midnight, the house of Clement Gross, being an alehouse, was set on fire in an out-room, yet, through God's good providence, was instantly seen and put out; but no author to be found.

Aug. 8. About midnight began a fire in Boston, an alehouse, which, by sunrise, consumed the body of the trading part of the town: from the Mill Creek to Mr. Oliver's dock, not one house nor warehouse left; and up from my warehouse to Mr. Skerret's,¹ thence to Mr. Hezekiah Usher's, thence to Mr. Thacher's, thence to Thomas Fitch's.

This year, Mr. James Elson, with his ship and her lading, bound from London to Boston, was taken by the Algerines.

Sept. 7, being sabbath, about ten o'clock, all the churches were alarmed with a fire in Lieut. Edward Creek's house, which began in a garret, not near the chimney, but must

¹ This word seems to have been partly erased.

needs be set on fire. The wind pretty strong ; yet it pleased God no house but that was burned.

Sept. 10. A synod of churches, by their elders and messengers, met at Boston. Voted the platform of discipline drawn at Cambridge, an. 1648, unanimously ; also representing to the General Court what they conceived to be the provoking evils of this people, propounding also remedies. Adjourned till May, 1680. Ordered a committee of elders to draw up a confession of faith for these churches.

Nov. 22. Rev. Mr. John Wheelwright, pastor of the church of Salisbury, departed this life, being eighty-five years of age.

Dec. 10. Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting, pastor of the church of Lin [Lynn], departed this life, being eighty-two years old.¹

Dec. 23. Honored William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, Esqrs., arrived from England in Thomas Jolls, in Nantacut harbor, and could not get to Boston (till) the evening after 25th day, a strong north-west wind arising soon after they had cast anchor below. Much mercy appeared in their being harbored before it arose.

Master William Condry and his ship, bound from Boston to London, was taken by the Algerines.

March 17. The second church in Boston solemnly renewed their covenant.

1680, 23d, 4th. The third church in Boston solemnly renewed their covenant.

¹ " Sir, I know I need not beg your prayers for poor New England: you cannot withhold them, no more than we here ours for dear England. Rev. Mr. John Wheelwright, pastor of Salisbury church, and Mr. Samnel Whiting, pastor of Linn church, are lately gathered home. We have few of our old stock left, and likewise have lost many young worthy ones. But yet the Lord showeth us his faithfulness in continuing a succession of able and faithful ministers to lead and guide his poor flocks in this wilderness; and many of them are very intoned in their Lord's work, to call in the rising generation, and to whet upon them his end in all his awful providences." (Hull to Henry Ashurst, Dec. 17, 1679, in Letter-Book.)

Aug. 16. Elder Edward Rainsford¹ died, being old and full of days.

Aug. 24. The Lord Thomas Culpepper² came into Boston privately ; but, the next day, he dined at the Town House, and was attended by the eight military companies, and, about Oct. 15, sailed hence for England.

A peace made with the Eastern Indian sachems by Thomas Danforth, Esq., and after, in beginning of November, with the Maquas at Albany, by John Pynchon, Esq.

Sept. 15. A fast at Dorchester church. Mr. Josiah Flynt, pastor thereof, very sick, and died the night following, about ten o'clock.

Sept. 19, being sabbath day, about four o'clock afternoon, a fire was discovered in the top of the old meeting-house, in the uppermost private room, where the clock stood. Began in the floor, ran up the partition-boards to the roof, began to burn a principal rafter about six foot from the place where it began.

Nov. 15. A blazing star appeared in the south-east in the morning ; and, about Dec. 8, it began to be seen in the evening.³

9ber 22. A chimney fired, and frightened people ; but no hurt followed, save a man wounded with a fall, the ladder breaking.

24th. Mr. Usher's chamber on fire in the night, by their own neglect ; but no public damage ensued.

25th. A day of public thanksgiving in this Colony.

¹ Brother of Lord Chief Justice Rainsford.

John Hull, writing from England, March, 1676, says, "Judge Rainsford, brother to him of Boston, is said to be one of their (the Nonconformists') bitterest enemies. Might not his brother have power over him to move him to some moderation?" Rainsford's Island derives its name from him. (Letter-Book.)

² Governor of Virginia.

³ "On the 16th appeared a blazing comet in the morning, and now is seen with us in the evening, with a very long stream. The Lord fit us and you for all his will and pleasure!" (Hull to Thomas Deane, Dec. 27, in Letter-Book.)

About 8ber 18, Sir Edmund Andros came hither, supposed to see Lord Th. Culpeper; but he was sailed for England. He staid about a week, and departed, being accompanied with our troop to Dedham.

Dec. 16. A day of public humiliation.

18th. Josiah Winslow, Esq., Governor of Plymouth Colony, died, being ——— years of age.

Dec. 15. Arrived Master Foy and Master Jenner, and brought Mr. Christopher Mason and one Mr. Chamberlain, and brought letters for the country from the king's majesty. It was drawn and prepared by some lords. It required us, on our allegiance, to send agents, fully empowered, &c.

Dec. 21. John Russell,¹ a preacher to the Anabaptists, died suddenly, after a pamphlet of his in excuse of themselves, and accusing the churches here of persecution, [appeared.]

Dec. 22. About half an hour past three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Sampson Sheaffe's² house fell on fire by some neglect within. Some of them were forced to leap out of the chamber-window; yet all their lives preserved. Two other houses were burned with it, and one blown up; and about half an hour after five, the same morning, Mr. Mich. Page his ship, lying at Capt. Ben. Gillam's wharf, fell on fire by a bad hearth, and was not mastered without much damage to the ship and lading and to said Gillam's warehouse.

Jeremie Mather was blown into a cellar, and had his thigh broken and his head bruised.

16th of 11th, being sabbath day, toward the close of the afternoon exercise, a smoke was discovered in Major William

¹ Minister of the Boston Baptist church.

² Afterwards of New Hampshire, and a member of the council there. He died at Boston, in 1724, æt. seventy-six.

Phillips's house. It appeared plain that somebody had put fire with chips in a window in the cellar, which was left without any door shut, and had only wood and lumber in it; but, being found, it had only scorched the stanchions of the window, and so was soon quenched. But, as yet, nobody was found as the endeavorer of that mischief.

Feb. 1. Benjamin Negus his house, joining to William Kent's, was set on fire near the top of the roof, about ten o'clock in the day, the County Court then sitting in the Town House just by it; but it being a rainy day, and many hands ready, it was soon quenched.

We have had sundry sudden deaths fallen out in several parts of the country.

July 7. A public fast throughout this Colony.

July 24. Mr. Urian Oakes, pastor of Cambridge church and President of the College, departed this life.

Aug. 31. A fast at Cambridge. Another at the College.

Nov. 24. A day of public thanksgiving through this Colony; the Lord giving a competent harvest, notwithstanding the great threatening drought.

Feb. 16. Major Thomas Savage died, being aged seventy-six years.

1682, June 26. All this evening and night, till about one o'clock, was very dreadful lightning and pretty much thunder.

28th. Mr. John Danforth ordained pastor of the church of Dorchester.

Aug. 16. A comet appeared in our hemisphere in the morning, and, 27th, in the evening, and so continued. It had but little stream or blaze.

Aug. 20. Mr. Isaak Foster, pastor of a church at Hartford, died in his prime or youth.

Sept. 20. Daniel Dennison, Esq., having served the country many years as an assistant and a major-general, died.

[Here the Public Diary suddenly stops. It will be observed that the entries grow more rare toward the close. The letters in the Letter-Book go on to the 18th of August, 1683, — nearly a year after the entries here, and within six weeks of Mr. Hull's death. Among these, the Committee of Publication find little of public interest, beyond what has been alluded to in the "Memoir." The following letters, however, are of value, and illustrate the character of the Treasurer at a late period of his life.]

BOSTON, May 21, 1683.

MR. RICHARD ROOK, — Forasmuch as you and your company are now fitted and governed, upon a voyage to the wrack or wracks with the sloop "Endeavor," now that you may not render all your preparations and disbursements frustrate; but may, if the Lord will, be very successful and advantageous to yourselves and us, — we solemnly advise you to take heed and carefully avoid all and every sinful way to which evil will bring sorrow and suffering to poor mortals, and especially sorrowing of religion, the sabbath, and all religious duties; for though God may bear awhile with wicked sinners, yet he will arise and execute vengeance, and sometimes when men least think of it. First, therefore, we pray you to look heedfully and daily, all the time you are abroad, to your own example, that you do not swear, nor take the Lord's holy name in vain; that you be very temperate; that you be very diligent; that you be very prudent, just, and equal in your behaviour toward all your company, and especially to your companions, Mr. Savage

and Mr. Lester, and toward other ship's company; that you may, if possible, have the good-will and love of all that you shall converse withal, and may the better proceed and succeed. In all your affairs, see that you keep your articles carefully, and that you break no law of nature, of nations, of God. And, moreover, we give you our special charge, that you do not bring upon yourself, nor the company, neither upon the owners, any part of the guilt of innocent blood; for truly we fear the taking Indians by force is man-stealing, and to kill any of them in that design will involve in the guilt of blood, which I would have you and us keep far from, and walk humbly and mournfully under a deep sense of what passed formerly; although, indeed, we ourselves are but very darkly acquainted what the wrackmen did. And we shall add no more, but pray God to give you that counsel, protection, success, and blessing that he seeth meet for you, and in his due time to return you to us again, who are

Yours,

JOHN HULL.

Boston, May 16, 1683.¹

ELIAKIM HUTCHISON.

MR. RICHARD ROOK, MR. PEREZ SAVAGE, and Captain FRANCIS LESTER, — We shall only tell you, that we heartily desire your welfare, and are therefore bold to send you our present advice. We doubt not but you will make all speed to the wrack, where, when the Lord shall bring you, we desire this as your daily, constant care, to love and assist and do your utmost help each other; be united yourselves, and do your utmost to keep your whole company; so keep your articles, and be willing to consort with any good civil ship's officers and company; and, if God's providence see need you generally, we think it will be very profitable to

¹ This letter has two dates in the Letter-Book.

agree to send home the treasure in some vessel, which may be kept here safe without cutting, until you have all with consent ended your voyage, and come home hither to share; and, upon the credit of it, provisions may be brought and sent you for each vessel, according to your need, and bill of lading for each ship's port, with distinct marks, according to what you shall desire. Be very careful to maintain his majesty's peace, and to break no law of nature nor nations, especially of Old England and New. In attending to the law of God, and making his word your rule, you will keep all. Which, that you may be helped to do, let you and us daily go unto Him who hath all grace freely to bestow, that we may be guided, prospered, blessed, and in his good time safely returned. In him we remain your loving friends, and owners of three fourths of the ———.

JOHN HULL.

ELIAKIM HUTCHISON.

[The earliest part of Judge Sewall's Diary supplies a few memoranda respecting the old man's declining years, which may properly be inserted here. We are indebted for these to Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington. The critical skill of this gentleman has restored the Latin of the second entry from the almost incomprehensible text in which it exists in the copies of the Diary now extant. The original Sewall Diary of this period is lost.]

Feb. 7, '76 [1676-7]. Went to ye 12 meeting [for prayer, &c., which he had attended], at Mr. Morse his house; where Mr. Gershom Hobart [afterward or then minister of Groton] spake well to James 1. 19.

Feb. 14. 13th meeting [he had attended] at Goodm. Davis's [Joseph]; where G. [Goodman Joseph] Tappin and

Cousin [Ephraim] Savage spake to 1 Pet. 1. 6. By which words I seriously considered y^t no godly man hath any more afflictions than what he hath need of: qua meditatione mihi quidem die sequente usus fuit; nam socer (jam pene fervidus propter avenas sibi inconsulto oblatas) de stipite aequo grandiore quem in ignem intempestive (ut aiebat) conjeci, mihi iratus fuit, & si ita insipiens forem dixit se mihi fidem non habiturum, et ventosam mentem meam fore consativam. Deus det me sibi soli confidere, & creato nulli. Psal. 37. 3, 4, 5. principium hujus psal. canebam conscius, quem propter ea quae dicta sunt moestus petivi.

[Of this curious entry, Rev. Mr. Sewall informs us that the copyist has probably erroneously transcribed some words; for he was in times at doubt, and, in the margin, gave a different reading for *oblatas*, *conjeci*, *fidem*, and *consativam*. Mr. Sewall adds, —

“The general meaning of the passage, however, with the aid of a little conjecture, seems to be plainly this: Mr. Hull, being *much chafed* (pene fervidus, almost glowing with passion) at some one's bringing oats to him, as Treasurer of the Colony, in payment of taxes, instead of *money*, ‘inconsulto,’ without having previously consulted him, was angry with his son-in-law, Sewall, for throwing upon the fire, unseasonably, as he said, a larger billet of wood than was necessary or meet; and declared, that, if he would be so foolish, he should have no confidence in him: for that his mind would be as unstable as if it were akin to the wind.¹

“Now, all that Mr. Hull here said was doubtless said in a moment of irritation, which had been kindled by another

¹ “Here retaining *consativam*, I construe *ventosam* as if changed to *vento*; but I doubt whether *consativam* was the word used in the original, though I can think of no similar word to substitute for it.”

occurrence, and soon subsided. But Mr. Sewall, always sensitive to every thing that looked like contempt or reproach, laid these words of his father-in-law much to heart ; and, feeling that the severity of the reprimand was unprovoked and unmerited, he had recourse, for instruction or admonition, to the doctrine of the text discussed at 'the meeting' the preceding evening ; and for consolation to the 37th Psalm, which, in his sorrow, he turned to for the sake of the things said therein (or on account of the things which had been said to him), and the beginning of which, conscious of his not deserving the censure passed on him, he sang."']

1676 [1676-7], Feb 21. Went to ye 13th meeting,¹ at Cousin E[phraim] Savage's ; where my father-in-law and Goodm. Needham spake to Ps. 6. 1.²

Feb. 23, 1676 [1676-7]. Mr. Torrey [Rev. Samuel, of Weymouth] spake wth my father at Mrs. Norton's ; told him y. he would fain have me preach, and not leave off my studies to follow merchandize.

March 21, 167⁶/₇. Father & self rode to Dorchester to y^e Fast, which is y^e first time y^t ever I was in y^t [new] meeting-house ; so was absent from y^e private meetings.

April 18, 1677. My father-in-law and I went on foot to Dorchester, and so were not at y^e meeting.³

¹ So the copy ; but the preceding meeting has also the 13th.

² In his own Diary, Hull never alludes to his own speaking at these meetings.

³ Rev. Mr. Sewall informs us, that, on this day, there was a Solemn Public Renewal of their Covenant by the church in Dorchester. Judge Sewall has left notes of the sermons preached on the occasion, by Rev. Mr. Flint in the morning, and by Rev. Mr. Torrey, of Weymouth, in the afternoon.

The meeting which Mr. Sewall and Mr. Hull failed to attend was not the customary service of the Lord's Day. The 18th of April, 1677, was Wednesday ; and, says Mr. Sewall, "the meeting they were absent from was a meeting, repeatedly referred to by Judge Sewall in the previous part of his Diary, for prayer and religious conference, sustained for many years by his father Hull and himself, Capt. Scottow, Capt. Ephraim Savage, Mr. Nathaniel Williams (the preacher and master of the Latin Grammar School, Boston, with and after Mr. Cheever), Capt. James

[According to the funeral sermon, alluded to in the “Memoir,” Mr. Hull died Oct. 1, 1683. The date is fixed a day earlier in Mr. Daniel Gookin’s “Shadie Meditations” on his memory. We have this curious poem, as copied from the original for us by Rev. Mr. Sewall. It has never been printed before] : —

“A Few Shadie Meditations occasi-
 “oned by the Death of the Deservedly
 “Honoured John Hull Esq^r who was
 “removed from his earthly tabernacle
 “to be an Inhabitant of that house
 “not made with hands eternall in
 “the Heavens *Sept* : 30 : 1683.¹

“Great Worthies merit well the Pens & pains
 “Of Noblest Wits with high poetick strains
 “To write to speake y^r virtues & to tell
 “Of choice perfections wherein they excell,
 “Wherein they are fair patterns to the Age,
 “In which they live & act upon the stage ;
 “They living this to merit may be said,
 “Injustice only keeps it back when dead ;
 “How great injustice then may all Esteeme
 “Penurious silence is, when such a theam
 “So fairly is propos’d, a theam that might
 “Matter for Volumes yeeld ; No Parasite

Hill, Capt. Henchman, Capt. Wing, and ten or a dozen more, men of note in Boston at that day. They met at each other’s houses, alternately, on *Wednesday evening*, once a fortnight, sometimes once a week ; and the exercises were prayer, and the exposition of a text of Scripture, which was given out at the previous evening, and ‘spoken to’ by each member in his turn, and sometimes by a minister who gave them his company. This was ‘*the meeting*’ from which Mr. Hull and his son-in-law were absent, on Wednesday, April 18, 1674 ; and the reason of their absence doubtless was, that they had gone on foot to attend *Dorchester Lecture*, which was held on Wednesday (though not weekly, like the Boston Thursday Lecture, but only, I believe, once a month), and were too cold and weary, or too late, on their return, to attend their private meeting too.”

¹ “The Meditations” are inscribed on the back, by Judge Sewall, “Cous. Dan^l. Gookin on my Father Hull.” The paper containing them therefore, written in a different hand, gives us, doubtless, the *original* verses, not a *copy*, written by Rev. Mr. Gookin himself. — [*Rev. Mr. Sewall.*]

"Is craved here with's oylie tongue to vent
 "Flattering Encomiums of y^e Man that's meant.

"What can be said or what we can devise
 "Of the truly Noble, of y^e Just & Wise
 "Of Such as famous are & Eminent
 "For princely piety whose hearts are bent
 "Are wholly bent for God for heav'n while here,
 "To whom heav'ns high & Glorious Ends are deare,
 "May all be said of Him Unfeigned Lover
 "Of pious wages, & yet too much wee cover.

"What can be said of th' Liberall heart & hand
 "That liberall things contrives which make him Stand,
 "That Him that's Poor is ready to befriend,
 "And hath a happy, honourable End,
 "That Naked, hungry, Thirsty, Christ releeves
 "From whom Christ Siek, imprisoned, much receeves
 "May all be said of Him Unwearied Lover
 "Of Christ's Poor ; this wee speak, yet much wee cover. —

"What can be said in truth of him y^t gains
 "By Heavens teaching Industry, and pains
 "Much soul enlightning skill in things divine
 "Which guards the heart which makes y^e faee to shine
 "By which the Soule Mysterious depths can sound,
 "Which such as want this Wisedome would confound,
 "May all be said of Him Undoubted Lover
 "Of Light & truth, yet all wee don't discover. —

"The Sovereign hand that orders all below
 "That freely gives what he to none doth ow
 "Did To this Worthy deal out Earthly Treasure
 "(That which the world calls Glory) in good measure ;
 "And yet in midst of all 'twas strange to see
 "His heart for God & Heav'n he still keeps free
 "Gold's Not his God, glittering delights beneath
 "His Chiefest good were farr, he'd nere bequeath
 "His soule to things, which soules can never fill
 "God was his all, God had his mind & Will.

"Who is't that don't admire Job's Patience;
 "Here's a true copy surely taken thence:
 "Moses in Meekness once did all Excell;
 "Here's Meekness truly that's neare Parallel.
 "Order's the beautie of the World's Rare frame
 "'Tis that which gives it lustre; 'tis the same,
 "That made his house worthy desires of all
 "That prize a Bethel, more than Babel's Hall.
 "Numerous perfections, which we here omitt
 "That render men for Earth or Heaven fitt,
 "Might justly added bee unto the Rest;
 "(Splendid endowments of an Heav'nly Guest.)
 "Much inward Worth that only to the Eye
 "Of Him is open, that hearts can descry,
 "Lies covered up in silence till y^e day,
 "When Hearts deep Secrets th' Highest shall display.

"No wonder then we heare the Sobbs & sighs,
 "Complaints reecho'd with heart melting cryes
 "Of such whose hearts are wounded, bleeding lie
 "Under deep sense of this their destiny.
 "Oh such a father, husband, Brother, friend!
 "Who knowes alas where such a losse will End:
 "Thus without hope mourning might Such remain
 "And justly count all hopes to bee in vaine,
 "Did not El Shaddai ever live to bee
 "As His, So Theirs in never ending glee."

[The body of Mr. Hull was buried, on the 5th of October, in a tomb in the Granary Burying Ground, which is still to be seen there, having the name of Judge Sewall inscribed on the side. He had built it for himself. In the same tomb were gathered successively the remains of his widow, of his son-in-law and daughter, and many of his relatives, connections, and descendants.]

As has been said, he died intestate. The following agreement for the division of his property, copied from the Suffolk

Registry of Wills, will show what and how large it was at the period of his death.]

HULL'S ESTATE. — (*Division.*)

Proposalls for Division and Settlement of the Estate left by John Hull, Esq^r late of Boston, dece^d intestate made & agreed upon between Judith his Relict widow, Samuel Sewall & Hannah his wife the onely childe of s^d John Hull & Administrators of s^d estate, humbly offered to the consideration of the Hono^{ble} County Court, for their confirmation (if they shall thinke fit) on whome the power of settling the estates of Intestates is devolved by Law; which proposalls are as neer as they can judge agreeable to the minde of y^e dece^d so far as he com'unicated y^e same to them; and are as followeth.

Imp^{es} That-that the s^d Judith Hull in consideration of her Thirds in y^e real estate shall have and enjoy the mansion house of the s^d M^r Hull, wherein hee dyed, wth all the land thereto adjoining and belonging; and all tenements, shop, out-houseing and buildings whatsoever on any part of s^d land standing; with a small orchard or parcel of land thereto neer adjacent late purchased of M^r Edward Rawson. Also one moiety of all y^e warehouses yard and wharfe scituate upon the Creeke in Boston neer the little Bridge commonly called M^r Peter Oliver's Bridge.

2^{ly} All the lands lying at Muddy River within the limits of Boston, with y^e houseing, barnes, buildings and fences thereupon, viz: — Brookline lands (so called) in the present tenure & occupation of Simon Gates. Swamp line Lands in the tenure and occupation of George Bairstow; And Hoggscote Lands in the tenure and occupation of Andrew Gardner.

3^{ly} One third part, right, share, title & interest in three dwellings scituate in Boston, made over by Deeds of mortgage; the one from Hudson Leverett, which is in his own present occupation; a second by Richard Woodde in y^e occupation of his widow; and the third by William Hoar Baker, in y^e present occupation of s^d Hoar. Or one third part of the monys w^{ch} may be paid for in redemption of y^e s^d dwellings or either of them, or w^{ch} they shall produce upon sale, and a third of all interest & rents ariseing therefrom in the meane time.

To have and to hold possess and injoy all and every of the s^d premisses with the rents issues profits and improvements thence to be had made raysed or gained, unto the s^d Judith Hull and her assignes to her sole use benefit & behoofe for and during the full time and term of her naturall life; the Reversion of the Mansion house wth all the land thereto belonging, and all Tenements, Shop, buildings and edifices whatsoever on any part thereof standing with the priviledges and appurtenances belonging; Also y^e little orchard or parcel of land bought of M^r Rawson neer adjacent to y^e Mansion house; with the dwelling house and land on the other side of the street purchased of Robert Walker; and a small pasture being part of the land bought of John Damerill fronting on y^e street leading towards Fort-hill in Boston, and all the Lands lying at Sherborn, alias Boggastow, at the decease of the s^d Judith Hull, to fall in equall division amongst the children of the s^d Hannah Sewall her daughter, namely Samuel, Hannah and Elizabeth, which now are, and such as shee may further have at any time & times hereafter.

Likewise at the decease of the s^d Samuell Sewall and Hannah his present wife the Reversion of all the aforementioned lands at muddy River, with y^e buildings & improvements thereon; with the lands in Boston formerly M^r

Cottons, at Cotton Hill (commonly so called) and all the buildings that now are, or shall be erected thereupon: Also all the warehouses, land and wharfe thereto belonging aforementioned, wth a small Tenement thereto adjoining formerly leased by Cap^{ne} Daniel HENCHMAN; with a small close or pasture ground scituate in Boston adjoining upon M^r Robert SANDERSON formerly purchased of Sarah PHIPPEN; All the s^d premisses at the decease of s^d Samuel and Hannah SEWALL to fall unto the aforementioned children of the s^d Hannah that now or which shee may further have, to be equally divided amongst them:

To have and to hold unto them their heirs and assigns forever, in equall parts & proportion to be set out unto them respectively, to the Son or Sons when he or they shall attain the age of Twenty one yeares, to the daughters at Twenty yeares of age or day of marriage which shall first happen, if their s^d Father and Mother be both deceased before that time; And if any of the s^d children should depart this life before the time for inheriting the estate so reserved for them in reversion, then his or her part so dying, to fall in equall division amongst the survivo^s unless such child or children leave issue of their body lawfully begotten, then such issue to enjoy the share or dividend which would have falⁿ to their parent.

Item: — It is agreed, That the s^d Judith HULL shall have and enjoy out of the personal estate to her own free and absolute use and dispose forever, one halfe part of all the household goods and Furniture in and belonging to the Mansion house, and one halfe part of all the wearing plate; Also one full third part of all the trading stock, goods wares merchandizes, monys, debts and whatsoever else is belonging to the personal estate; She bearing one third part loss by bad debts or any adverse providence which may happen. And

also paying one third part of all debts justly oweing from y^e. estate, funerall charges & other past charges & disburstm^{ts} relating to y^e. estate, or what shall further be disburs't for gathering in y^e. same.

Lastly, it is fully consented to and agreed, that the s^d. Samuel Sewall and Hannah his wife (the only child left by s^d. M^r. Hull) shall have and enjoy the full remainder and residue of all their s^d. Fathers estate (not hereinbefore express't to be reserved) both real and personal, of houseing lands or Tenements wheresoever lying scituate & being household goods, plate, moneys, debts, trading stocks, goods, wares, merchandizes and whatsoever else of any nature sort or kinde is thereunto appertaining. To have and to hold, possess and enjoy the same, with all the Rents, issues, profits and increase thereof unto them the s^d. Samuel and Hannah their heires & assigns forever. They bearing two third parts of loss hapning by bad debts or any adverse providence, and paying two thirds of all just debts, funerall charges and other past charges and disburstm^{ts} and of what shall farther be disburs't for gathering in of the estate.

Likewise that the s^d. Samuel and Hannah shall have and enjoy for term of life, and the longer liver of them, Cotton Hill lands with the buildings thereupon, the pasture close bought of Sarah Phippen, from y^e. day of y^e. date of these presents. And also at the decease of their mother, M^{rs}. Judith Hull, all the aforementioned lands and houseing at Muddy River, her moiety of the warehouses and small Tenement adjoining for term of life, the reversion thereof, at their decease to fall in equall division amongst all the children of s^d. Hannah as is before provided. In Testimony of our full consent and agreement to this division and settlement, if the Hono^{bl}. Court shall please to confirme the same (w^{ch} we humbly pray) wee the persons abovenamed have hereunto

put our hands¹ and affixed our seales this Twelfth day of March Ann^o Dom. 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, annoq^e. R.R^s Caroli Secundi xxxvi. Judith Hull & a seale. Samuel Sewall & a seale. Hannah Sewall & a seale. Signed, sealed & deliv^d in y^e presence of Daniel Quinsey, John Alcocke, Eliakim Mather.

At a County Court for Suffolke sitting in Boston by adjournm^t 13 March 168 $\frac{3}{4}$, M^{rs} Judith Hull, M^r Samuel Sewall and M^{rs} Hannah, his wife, personally appearing acknowledged this Instrum^t to be their voluntary act and deed; which the Court approve of and confirme as a settlement of s^d estate, so far as they are concerned therein. Entred 14 March 168 $\frac{3}{4}$ pr. Is^a. Addington, Cl^{re} Attest Is^a. Addington, Cl^{re}

A true copy from the Records of Deeds for Suffolk County, Lib. 13, fol. 92.

Attest,

HENRY ALLINE, *Reg.*

[Capt. Hull's name was inserted in the *quo warranto* issued in London against the Governor and Company, on the 20th of July, 1683, among other distinguished citizens of the Colony. He was not living, however, when the General Court met to consider this subject. This meeting was on the 7th of November, 1683.

At this session of the General Court, a petition was presented from his widow and son-in-law for the settlement of his accounts.

It shows that the accounts were not settled in his lifetime, and from no fault of his own; that he kept the account with his own hand till weakness of body and the bulk of the account compelled him to take Capt. Daniel HENCHMAN as his assistant; that there were indeed twelve thousand vouchers

¹ Being solely concerned therein.

and other papers filed ; that one of his relations, and two of his apprentices, labored much in this service, for all which he charged nothing. He was, all along, many hundred pounds out of his estate for the supply of the country ; and “ did preserve their credit,” says the petition, “ by taking up and engaging several sums on their behalf, besides his own disbursements.”

This petition was referred to a Committee ; which reported that the sum of five hundred and forty-five pounds three shillings and tenpence half-penny was due to Hull from the country, and proposed that the country should pay this by paying four hundred pounds, with interest, to Capt. Phillips, of Charlestown (of whom Capt. Hull had borrowed that amount for the Colony), and to the administrators fifty pounds. This settlement was satisfactory to the administrators ; although Hull's own last account had shown that seventeen hundred pounds were due him from the country. The payment seems to have involved a waiver on their part of a considerable sum. The following letter of Capt. Hull's to the General Court explains the transaction with Mr. Phillips.

At the request of the administrators, the petition and answer were recorded in full on the Colony Records, where we have found and used them.^{1]}

To the Honorable General Court now sitting in Boston, the humble Representation of John Hull.

GENTLEMEN, I was in dissburss for the Country in May 1676 when I was first Ca[lled]² to be their Treasurer in money about seven hundred Pounds. And since seldom

¹ Vol. v. p. 427.

² The MS. (Archives, Pecuniary, vol. i.) is somewhat worn on the edges.

less than 15 or £1600 until my order to receive in October 1680.

In November 1678 I went unto most of the Merchants & Gentlemen in this town to intreat them to pay for the Country £100 apiece in London, before March following ——— [because] £700 was then to be there paid to complete the payment for the Province of Maine, but I could not get anything to be obliged by any one. I then ventured m[yself] seven hundred pounds at Interest, because I understood that the £550 that was [sent] before would be lost if the other was not complied with, for which for repayment I had also given my bond to Mr. John Phillips of Charltowne for £6[00] and interest at 6 per cent until repaid and to others for lesser sums.

My encouragement was that God had called me to the place and had given me what I had for such a time, — that it was for a good people as (I hoped) such as would be just & righteous if not also grateful.

Gent. I am willing to lose freely one hundred Pound out of my own estate, & if it were indeed needful, much more.

I intreat you to give order to the Present Treasurer to pay Four Hundred Pounds more than this your bill speaketh of (which is Voted by the Honoured House of Deputies Oct. 22.) unto Mr. John Phillips aforesaid for which I am yet in bonds.

And to quicken up the towns of Salem, Salisbury, Newberry, Medfeild, Linn, Dedham, Toppsfeild, To send in speedily upon some Penalty what they are yet behind with me. The fault lyeth in the Towns who appointed Constables uncapable to so great a service as was committed unto them in these years of so great disbursements.¹

¹ Philip's War.

I do Count it my duty to spend and to be spent for the Public welfare but I thing it (with all Humilqity) also your duty, Honoured Gentlemen, not to suffer me to lose more than needeth.

I leave myself with God and you, and am, Gent.

Your humble servant

JOHN HULL.¹

Boston, Oct. 25, 1681.

¹ For a specimen of Hull's accounts, see APPENDIX G.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. — PAGE 141.

HULL'S FAMILY.

THE Diary, in different places, makes allusion to Hull's relatives of different degrees. In the Memoir prefixed to the Diary, we have collected the names of those mentioned in it and in the "Letter-Book" in our possession.

To exhibit more clearly the relationship of these parties to each other, we arrange our various notes regarding them, — besides those which have been inserted as foot-notes, — in the order of the three generations, — I., John Hull's father's ; II., his own ; and, III., his daughter's.

GENERATION I.

(1) Robert Hull, of Market Hareborough, England. It is said he was a blacksmith by trade [Rev. Mr. Sewall]. He arrived in Boston, Nov. 7, 1635 ; was a member of the First Church. His first wife was (2) Elizabeth, widow of ——— Storer. She died May 7, 1646, in Boston. Robert Hull afterwards married (3) Judith Paine, the widow of Moses Paine. Her first husband was Edmund Quincy, of Achurch, Northamptonshire, England, who removed to America, and arrived in Boston, Sept. 4, 1633. She died in 1654. By his first wife, Robert Hull had John and Edward Hull.

We have mentioned, on p. 124, Mather's story of Mr.

Wilson's prophecy as to Hull's wealth. We trust that the observation of Hull's kindness to his mother was true. It seems certain, however, that Mather did not truly understand the position of the parties. He says that Wilson, "beholding a young man extraordinary dutiful in all possible ways of being serviceable to his aged mother, then weak in body and poor in estate, [said] 'I charge you take notice what I say. God will certainly bless that young man. John Hull shall grow rich, and live to do God good service in his generation.' It came to pass, accordingly, that this exemplary person became a very rich as well as emphatically a good man, and afterwards died a magistrate of the Colony."

This agreeable anecdote, which we trust is true in its essentials, must be read with the recollection, that, when John Hull's mother died, her husband was living, to all appearance, in prosperous condition.

At Robert Hull's death, he left to John Hull "my part of the house which was first built, orchard and garden and lot at Muddy River, thirty acres, which I promised, at his marriage, to give at my death." He also leaves the following bequest: "I give to my son *Edmund Quincy* that portion that is due to me by my wife; and to his son *John Quincy* a lot at Braintree, which was my son *Richard Storer's*; and, to *Richard Storer*, £9."

To the same generation with Robert Hull belongs (4) ——— Hull, of London, believed by Rev. Mr. Sewall to be named *Edward* Hull. He was father of Edward Hull, a merchant of London. For the father, see p. 159. With him and his son, John Hull and Samuel Sewall corresponded; and Sewall was frequently at the son's house, in London.

GENERATION II.

(6) JOHN HULL, the author of the preceding Diaries, was born Dec. 18, 1624, in Market Hareborough, in Leicestershire; removed to New England with his father, ¹Robert

Hull; married, May 11, 1647, (7) Judith Quincy, daughter of Edmund and ³Judith Quincy, the latter of whom is named above, as subsequently marrying her son-in-law's father.

John Hull died Oct. 1, 1683. ⁷Judith Hull survived him. She resided, until her death in 1695, with her daughter, Mrs. Sewall. The following notices of her, after the death of her husband, appear in the Diary of Chief Justice Sewall: —

Jan. 10, 1687. I carried my mother Hull on my horse to Roxbury Lecture, when Mr. Moodey preached from John xv. 6. Mr. Stoughton, the President,¹ and my Uncle Quincy,² were there. A very pleasant, comfortable day.

June 21, 1695. About one at night, Jane came up, with an unusual gait, to tell us of my mother Hull's illness; she not being able to speak for a considerable time. About eight or nine o'clock, I called Mr. Willard, at her desire. Finding the room free once, and observing her very great weakness, I took the opportunity to thank her for all her labors of love to me and mine; and she, after a while, said, "God pity them!" which was the last prayer I heard her make. About six o'clock, I called Mr. Willard,³ but could not discern any attention to his prayer, her disease so prevailed. A little before sunset she expired, to our surprising grief and sorrow. About noon, some one in the next room spoke about who should watch. My dear mother said she should need no watcher; she should be above, at rest.

June 24. My dear mother is buried. The bearers were Mr. Danforth, Russell, Cooke, Elisha Hutchinson, Addington, Sergeant.⁴

¹ Increase Mather.

² ⁸ Edmund Quincy, of Braintree.

³ Rev. S. Willard, of the Old South, Vice-President of Harvard College from 1701 to 1707, — almost the only clergyman who opposed the witchcraft delusion.

⁴ Thomas Danforth, Deputy-Governor from 1679 to 1686, President of Maine, Judge of the Supreme Court, &c.; died 1699, aged 77.

James Russell, of Charlestown, Judge, Treasurer of Massachusetts, &c.; died 1709, aged 68.

Elisha Cooke, one of the Council of Safety, agent for Massachusetts in England, &c.; died 1715, aged 78.

Elisha Hutchinson, Adjutant, one of the Council, &c.; grandson of Ann Hutchinson; died 1717, aged 77.

Isaac Addington, Speaker, Secretary of the Colony, &c.; died 1715.

P. Sergeant, one of the Council of Safety, &c.

The following monody on her memory was printed on a separate sheet at the time. We are indebted for a copy of it to Miss Quincy : —

Mrs. Judith Hull,

Of Boston, in N.E. Daughter of
Mr. Edmund Quincey : late wife of
John Hull Esq. deceased.

A Diligent, Constant, Fruitfull Reader
and Hearer of the Word of GOD,
Rested from her Labours, June 22, 1695 :
being the seventh day of the Week, a little
before Sun-set ; just about the time She
used to begin the Sabbath.

Anno Ætatis suæ 69.

EPI T A P H.

Great Sarah's Faith ; join'd with good Hannah's Prayer
For hearing of the Word, glad Marie's Care ;
Aged Elizabeth's just walk ; To dwell
Nigh Prophets, a true Shunamitish Zeal ;
An Humble Soul Trim'd with an High Neglect
Of Gay Things, but with Ancient Glories deckt ;
All these Expir'd at once ! Array'd with them,
Our *Huldah's* gone to God's Jerusalem :
Without a Figure so, with her Last Breath
Shee Triumph'd o'er that Holophernes, *Death*.
Perfect in Thoughts, Words, Deeds, She soars on high
Performing what her Name did signifie.

(8) Edward Hull, brother of John, and son of Robert Hull, married Elinor Newman, Jan. 20, 1652-3, at Boston.

To this second generation of this table belongs (9) Edmund Quincy, brother of ⁷Judith Quincy [afterwards Hull],

and son of Edmund and ³Judith Quincy, the first emigrants, named above. He was born at Achurch, in England, 1627. He was one of the Council of Safety, &c. Died at Braintree, January, 1698.

Richard Storer was the half-brother of John Hull.

GENERATION III.

(10) Hannah Hull, the only child who lived to adult age of ⁶John Hull and ⁷Judith Hull, married (11) Samuel Sewall, on the 11th of May, 1675. He was son of Henry Sewall, who was son of Henry Sewall, the eldest son of Henry Sewall, a linen-draper, of Coventry, England. Jane Dummer, daughter of Stephen Dummer, of Newbury (whose wife was ——— Archer), was wife of Henry Sewall, and mother of ¹¹Samuel Sewall.

Hannah and Samuel Sewall had fourteen children, of whom six arrived at adult age ; viz. : —

(12) Samuel, b. 4th June, 1678 ; m. Rebecca, daughter of Gov. Jos. Dudley, and settled in Brookline ; d. Feb. 27, 1751.

(13) Hannah, b. 1680 ; d. unmarried.

(14) Elizabeth, b. 29th December, 1681 ; m. Grove Hirst, Esq., 17th October, 1700 ; and d. July 10, 1716.

(15) Joseph, D.D., b. 15th August, 1688 ; gr. 1707 ; ord. colleague with Rev. E. Pemberton ; d. June 27, 1769.

(16) Mary, b. Oct. 28, 1691 ; m. Samuel Gerrish, of Boston ; and d. Nov. 16, 1710.

(17) Judith, b. Jan. 2, 1702 ; m. Rev. William Cooper, of Boston, May 12, 1720 ; d. Dec. 23, 1720.

From these descend all of our author's own blood who are now living.

We do not attempt to trace the descent of ¹⁰Hannah Sewall, and her husband, ¹¹Samuel, farther ; except to say that they are the ancestors of a large family, distinguished in the annals of Massachusetts for the last century. We abstain, because this genealogy belongs properly to the forthcoming

Diary of Judge Sewall, which is the appropriate sequel to this volume.

A valuable letter from Judge Sewall, written in his old age, relating to the genealogy of the Sewall family, is in the possession of Rev. Mr. Sewall, and will be published, as we learn, in the Memoir of Judge Sewall, which will be prefixed to this edition of his Diary. Through Mr. Sewall's kindness, we learn a curious fact as to the way in which Judge Sewall and his wife first met. When he took his second degree, in 1674, at Cambridge, Mrs. Hannah Hull, as John Hull's daughter was called in the style of the day, was on a visit at the house of President Hoar, her uncle. "She saw me," writes the Judge, fifty-four years after, "and set her affections on me; though I knew nothing of it till after our marriage, which was Feb. 28, 1675-6. Governor Bradstreet married us in that we now call the Old Hall; 'twas then all in one, a very large room. As I remember, Madam Thacher and Madam Page (with whom Governor Bradstreet boarded) visited us the next day."

There is a tradition, which has often been printed, that, on the occasion of this marriage, the Mint-master, placing his daughter in one of the scales of his warehouse, poured pine-tree shillings into the other, until he had her weight in silver, and gave this sum to the bridegroom as her dowry. It is a pleasant story, which we could hardly expect to justify by any direct authority. Rev. Mr. Sewall, however, furnishes us, from the bridegroom's ledger, the exact sums which at that time he received from his new father-in-law. They are entered thus:—

1675.	Dr.	1675.	Cr.
My Father-in-law, Mr. John		Feb. 11, By money received .	£30.0.0
Hull, to his Free Promise	£500.0.0	Mar. 13, " " " " Stated	35.0.0
		By balance when new	
		Accts.	435.0.0

The only dates of money received are, the one seventeen days before, the other a fortnight after, the marriage of Mr. Sewall to Mr. Hull's daughter. It will be observed that the

£435, instead of being paid in shillings, was paid by being passed in a balance to a new account. £500 was very clearly the amount of the dowry. This would be ten thousand shillings, or fifteen hundred ounces of silver.

Now, it is certainly worthy of notice, that, if this had been paid the wedding-night (as it appears it was not), if it were weighed against the bride, if she did happen to weigh an even weight of ounces of silver and of pounds of currency, her weight (troy) was exactly one hundred and twenty-five pounds. As she has long been held up for a jest, as if she were particularly heavy, we trust this precise examination of the ledger and the legend may not seem amiss. Whether she were or were not weighed against pine-tree shillings, her dowry was, in fact, her "weight in silver," if she weighed a hundred and twenty-five pounds; which is, perhaps, about the average weight of young ladies of her age.¹

To the same generation belongs (18) Daniel Quincy, cousin of Hannah Hull, and alluded to in the Diary. (18) Daniel Quincy was the eldest son of ⁹ Edmund Quincy, the brother of ⁷ Mrs. Hull, and was born in Braintree, 1650. He went to England in John Hull's employment. He died Aug. 10, 1690, leaving one son, (19) John Quincy, who was Speaker of the House many years. Daniel Quincy was apprentice of his uncle, our author. The distinction which his descendants have since attained gives a peculiar interest to the following letter from Hon. John Quincy Adams, which we are permitted to publish by the kindness of Rev. George W. Blagden, D.D., to whom it was addressed: —

QUINCY, 18th September, 1839.

REV. GEORGE W. BLAGDEN, Boston.

DEAR SIR, — I return, with many thanks, the original copy of the letter of 18th November, 1669, from the members of the South Church to John Hull, mentioned in the note, p. 84, of Mr. Wisner's Sermons;² and therewith I enclose

¹ Hutchinson says her dowry was said to be £30,000, paid in shillings. Allen repeats the story, but makes it sixpences. In this case, if that were her weight, she would have weighed three tons and three-quarters.

² See note E, in this Appendix.

the copy of the letter from Chief Justice Sewall to his son, of 21st April, 1720, which I mentioned to you when I had the pleasure of meeting you at your house.¹

The first Edmund Quincy, and his wife Judith, were admitted members of the First Church, November, 1633.

Their daughter, Judith Quincy, married John Hull; and she is stated by Mr. Wisner to have been, as well as her husband, one of the founders of the South Church. She was one of the women who joined in communion with their husbands at that church, in April, 1669, and then addressed a letter to the First Church, requesting to be released from their covenant engagements with them for the purpose of being united with the new church; and her name is among the twenty-three members admitted to the South Church on the 16th of October, 1674.

She was the mother of Hannah Hull, who, as you will perceive by the enclosed letter, was, on the 28th of February, 1675-6, married to Samuel Sewall, then only twenty-three years of age, but afterwards Chief Justice of the Province, and the writer of the enclosed letter.

They were both members of the South Church; his name appearing as admitted on the 30th of March, 1677, and hers on the 1st of January, 1688.

The brother of Mrs. Judith Hull, the second Edmund Quinsey, lived, and was a member of the church, at Braintree. His first wife was Joanna Hoar, sister of Leonard Hoar, the person who came over from England in 1672, preached some time as assistant to Mr. Thacher at the South Church, and was then elected President of Harvard College. He had been educated at that College, where his name appears among the graduates of 1650.

In that same year, his sister, Mrs. Joanna Quinsey, became the mother of Daniel Quinsey, who was afterwards placed as an apprentice with his uncle, John Hull, who was a goldsmith, and some years afterwards Treasurer of the Province, and the contractor for the coinage of the celebrated pine-tree shillings.

In 1650, Mrs. Joanna Quinsey died; and her husband afterwards married Elizabeth Gookin. By her, he had three children; the eldest of whom, born in 1681, was the third Edmund Quincy, who became a Judge of the Superior Court, and agent of the Province at London, where he died, in

¹ This is the letter alluded to above.

February, 1738, of the small-pox. He was the great-grandfather of Josiah Quincy, the present President of Harvard University.

In 1682, Daniel Quinsey was married to Anna Shepard, daughter of the second Thomas Shepard, and first of that name minister at Charlestown.

Of this marriage, the issue were two children, — Anna, born the 1st and baptized the 7th of June, 1685 ; and *John*, born the 21st and baptized the 28th of July, 1689, — both at the South Church.

This John Quincy, son of Daniel and Anna Quinsey, was the person whose name I bear. He was the father of Elizabeth Smith (wife of William Smith, minister of Weymouth), my mother's mother. He was on his deathbed, at the age of seventy-seven, when I was baptized ; and it was at his daughter's request that his name was given to me.

He had been an orphan almost from his birth ; his father, Daniel Quinsey, having died at the age of forty, about one year after his birth, in August, 1690. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1708 ; and, within a year afterwards, his grandmother, Mrs. Anna Shepard, died, and bequeathed to him a farm at Mount Wollaston, where he ever after resided, and died.

It was only by the inspection of the record of your church that I ascertained where he had received the right of baptism ; and only a few days before that I had discovered, in the Boston Town Records, the time and place of his birth.

As one of the children of your church, these particulars concerning him may perhaps be of some interest to you ; and they are peculiarly gratifying to me, as they have furnished me the occasion of becoming personally acquainted with you, and of being indebted to your kindness for the inspection of your Church Records.

I am, with great respect, dear sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P.S., 19th September. — Since writing the above, I have seen, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, manuscript abstracts of sermons preached at the South Church by Mr. Leonard Hoar, on the 21st, 24th, and 28th of July ;

4th and 25th of August ; 8th, 15th, 22d, and 29th September ; 6th, 13th, 20th, and 27th October ; 3d, 13th, 17th, and 24th November ; 1st, 8th, and 15th December, — 1670. Chief Justice Sewall's letter says he arrived from England in July, and was installed as President of Harvard College in December of that year. The manuscript abstracts are intermixed with similar abridgments of sermons by Mr. Thacher, and other ministers of that time.

J. Q. A.

We have the following account of the wedding of ¹⁸ Daniel Quincy from the Diary of Chief Justice Sewall : —

“Thursday, Nov. 9, 1682. Daniel Quincy married Mrs. Anna Shepard, before John Hull, Esq. Samuel Nowell, Esq., and many persons present, — almost Capt. Brattle's great hall full. Mr. Willard began with prayer ; Mr. T. Shepard concluded. As he was praying, Cousin Savage, my mother Hull, my wife, and myself, came in. A good space after, when we had eaten cake and drunk wine and beer plentifully, we are called into the hall again to sing. In singing-time, Mrs. Brattle¹ goes out, being ill. Most of the company go away, thinking it a fit. But she grows worse, speaks not a word, and so dies away in her chair. And the strangeness and horror of the thing fills the (just now) joyous house with sorrow and ejulation.”

For many of these particulars relating to families of so wide connections and so much influence in the Commonwealth, we are indebted to the kindness of Miss Eliza Quincy, of Boston ; Rev. Mr. Sewall, of Burlington ; Dr. N. B. Shurtleff ; and Rev. George W. Blagden, D.D.

¹ Mrs. Brattle and Mrs. Shepard were sisters, daughters of Edward Tyng. Mrs. Shepard survived both (18) Daniel Quincy and his wife, and bequeathed the estate at Mount Wollaston to her grandson, John Quincy.

When William Coddington removed to Rhode Island, part of the extensive tract of land assigned by the town of Boston to him and Edmund Quincy, in 1635, at Mount Wollaston, was sold to Edward Tyng. By the will of Mrs. Shepard, it became the property and residence of the great-grandson of Edmund Quincy, the associate of Mr. Coddington.

NOTE B. — PAGE 143.

HULL'S SHORT-HAND.

The short-hand used by Hull is named by Mr. Pitman, in his sketch of the modern history of this science, as the seventh system introduced in England, where more than a hundred systems have since flourished. It is the system invented and taught by Theophilus Metcalfe, and seems to have gained very considerable popularity, and retained it longer than most systems : for it was first published in 1645 ; and we find that editions of Metcalfe's treatise on it were published at least as late as 1698, when the thirty-fifth was printed, which is in the Library of Harvard College. The copy in the Library of our own Society was printed in 1674.

The title of this little hand-book is, "Short Writing ; the Most Easie, Exact, Lineal, and Speedy Method that hath ever been obtained or taught. Composed by Theophilus Metcalfe, Author and Professor of the said ART."

Such considerable portions of Hull's Diary and Letter-Book are written in short-hand, that it appeared to the Committee of Publication necessary to decipher it before this volume was published. On application to Rev. Thomas Hill, of Waltham, who is very thoroughly learned in the arts of "short writing," he kindly furnished us with the alphabets of all the early systems ; and, after a little experiment, it proved that Metcalfe's was that which Hull employed. The system itself is a wretched one ; compared with the modern systems, it is intolerable ; and, even compared with Hull's own long-hand, it seems very doubtful whether he could write his short-hand any faster than he wrote that. He wrote it very poorly also. From year to year, his own use of it varied. There are entries in it made in the margin of his notes for 1652 : but there is nothing which shows that these were made at that date ; and the entry of April 8 and 11, 1655,

in the margin of the Public Diary, is probably the earliest entry in our MSS. The last, and much the worst written in the Diary, is that of May 1, 1665 ; but in the Letter-Book is a copy of a letter to his cousin Leonard Hoar, of as late date as June 2, 1672, written in this character. Between these periods, he had different habits of writing it, and, towards the close of his experiments with it, united the letters more than at the beginning.

In the labor of deciphering, we were, all along, lured on by the hope of finding some matter of the Colony negotiations with the English authorities, which Hull had preferred to keep secret upon his Diary ; but, now that the labor is over, we cannot state any reason why he should have written these particular passages in this character. He must have been led merely by the whim of the moment. With this uniform result of the elucidation of the short-hand of the Diary, we have not thought it necessary to unravel that of the Letter-Book, as we have determined not to print the Letter-Book in full.

As there exist some volumes of sermons written mostly by Hull in this character, — some of which, as election sermons, probably bear more or less on the politics of the time, — and as there are other MSS. of that century written in this same short-hand,¹ we have prepared the annexed page, for the purpose of showing Hull's variations from Metcalfe's own directions as to his system of writing.

Although Hull employs some arbitrary characters of his own, we have found no instance where he makes use of the formidable list of Metcalfe's.

The future decipherer must recollect that Hull shapes the character very carelessly, and often puts a letter from the ordinary alphabet into the midst of his short-hand. We have experienced more difficulty from this intermixture of hands than from any other cause.

¹ A MS. letter of Thomas Parker, first minister of Newbury, written partly in this character, to the synod of 1662, is preserved in the Antiquarian Society's Library.

METCALFE AND HULL'S SHORT-HAND.

LETTERS.	METCALFE AND HULL.	METCALFE ALONE.	HULL ALWAYS.	HULL SOMETIMES
A		^	>	
B	<			!
C	c			
D	2			
E		2		e
F		L	7	
G	y			
H		h	s. 2. 1. 2	
I, J . . .	1			
K	3			
L	3			
M	4			
N	—			<
O		e		
P	9	p		
Q	7			
R	v			
S		9. 1	s. f.	
T	/			
U, V. . .	v		u. u	
W	7			3
X	x			
Y	y		y	
Z	z			
&c. . . .		—		
CH . . .	y			7
WH. . .		o	n	
SH . . .			y	
TH . . .	o			

THE VOWELS.

The vowels are generally indicated by the place of the point (·), or by that of the succeeding consonant. Thus the respective points around the letter c indicate ċ, ċ̇, ċ̇̇.

And C and T (c and /), written in these five ways, ċ, ċ', ċ', ċ', ċ', mean *cat, cet, cit, cot, cut*, respectively. So. in Hull's writing, ċ, ċ, ċ, ċ, would mean *ac, ec, ic, oc, uc*, respectively; but Metcalfe requires the characters in the alphabet to be used as initials.

HULL uses these arbitrary signs:—

- H for *husband*.
- 2v. „ *every*.
- p „ *pre* and *per*, as in long-hand.
- 3 „ *congregation*.
- u. „ *our*.
- < and 7 for *o'clock*.

METCALFE'S L (for) becomes, in Hull's writing, 3, and 4.

- ^ (are) becomes ^
- 2y is *2ndly*.
- 3w is *after*, for 3w.
- ṡ is *she*.

He could probably, with study, read his own short-hand MS.; because any intelligent man, with the key, could do that. We venture to express the doubt, however, whether he often did read it. Had he read it often, he would have corrected errors which are evident slips of an unaccustomed pen.

Since the study of Metcalfe's short-hand, which we made for this purpose, we have examined the two short-hand entries in the first volume of the Colony Records. We are able to say, that they are not made by Hull, nor in Metcalfe's system, and that they are in two quite different systems of writing. The short-hand in Sewall's almanacs is not Hull's system.

As we have said, Hull's own use of Metcalfe's short-hand began as early, at least, as 1655. Our earliest copy of Metcalfe's book was published in 1674. Either Metcalfe changed his system between these dates, or Hull or his teachers changed it in several points. To explain these changes, and other peculiarities in his use of the system, we present the table opposite of Metcalfe's alphabet, according to the edition of 1674, and of Hull's changes from that alphabet. In this table, we include all Hull's variations, which might puzzle a decipherer, so far as we know them.

NOTE C. — PAGE 146.

THE COINAGE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The history of the coinage of Massachusetts is so much confused in the different authors who have had occasion to speak of it, that we consider it necessary to trace it, in this note, from the beginning, and to print all the more important documents relating to it. One or two of these — which would have removed all the difficulties that have embarrassed the various writers on coinage — have, till now, never been published. Indeed, the subject has never been treated

with the respect or interest it deserves, except by Mr. Felt, in his valuable treatise on the currency of Massachusetts.

Hull's account, in the text, ascribes the establishment of the mint to the loss accruing from the introduction of counterfeit money. Hutchinson gives the same account,¹ with the additional statement, that the trade with the West Indies brought into New England a part of the plate and bullion which the buccaneers and other pirates took from the Spaniards.² This is substantially the same account with that given in the draught of an address to King Charles, in October, 1684. In the address, as it was presented, this passage does not occur,³ having been struck out before it passed the General Court; but in the original, which is still preserved, there appears the following passage:—

“And as for the minting and stamping pieces of silver to pass amongst ourselves for XII^d, VI^d, III^d, we were necessitated thereunto, having no staple commodity in our country to pay debts or buy necessities but fish and corn, which was so cumbersome and troublesome as could not be borne; and therefore for some yeares paper-bills passed for payment of debts, which are very subject to be lost, rent, or counterfeited, and other inconveniences. Then comes in a considerable quantity of light, base Spanish money, whereby many people were cousened, and the Colony in danger of being undone thereby; which put us upon the project of melting it down, and stamping such pieces as aforesaid to pass in payment of debts amongst ourselves. Nor did we know it to be against any law of England or against his majesty's will or pleasure till of late, but rather there was a tacit allowance and approbation of it; for in 1662, when our first agents were in England, some of our money was showed by Sir Thomas Temple at the council-table, and no dislike thereof manifested by any of those right honorable persons, much less a forbidding of it.”⁴

¹ Vol. i. p. 164.

² Hutchinson, by mistake, fixes the date in October, 1651; but the true date is October, 1652.

³ Records of Massachusetts, vol. v. p. 458. Another passage which was in the original draught, relating to the seire facias, was also omitted.

⁴ Report of a Committee appointed Oct. 30, 1684. Political Volume of Manuscripts, vol. i., in the Archives at the State House.

Up to May, 1652, the taxes of the country were paid in wampum, cattle, corn, fish, and other such commodities, of which Mr. Felt has collected very curious illustrations. At the session of the General Court, of the 26th of May, 1652, this system came to an end; and the SILVER COINAGE of MASSACHUSETTS began, by the passage of the following Act, on the 10th of June, 1652: —

“It is ordered, and by the authority of this Court enacted, that the printed order about money shall be in force until the first of September next, and no longer; and that, from and after the first of September next, the money hereafter appointed and expressed shall be the current money of this Commonwealth, and no other, unless English (except the receivers consent thereunto). In pursuance of the intent of this Court herein, be it further ordered and enacted by the authority of this Court, that all persons whatsoever have liberty to bring in unto the mint-house at Boston all bullion, plate, or Spanish coin, there to be melted and brought to the allay of sterling silver by John Hull, master of the said mint, and his sworne officers, and by him to be coined into twelvenenny, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces, which shall be, for form, flat and square on the sides, and stamped on the one side with NE, and on the other side with the figure XII^d, VI^d, and III, according to the value of each piece, together with a privy mark, which shall be appointed every three months by the Governor, and known only to him and the sworne officers of the mint. And, further, the said master of the mint aforesaid is hereby required to coin all the said money of good silver, of the just allay of new sterling English money, and for value to stamp twopence in a shilling of lesser value than the present English coin, and the lesser pieces proportionably; and all such coin, as aforesaid, shall be acknowledged to be the current coin of this Commonwealth, and pass from man to man in all payments accordingly, within this jurisdiction only. And the mint-master, for himself and officers, for their pains and labor in melting, refining, and coining, is allowed by this Court to take one shilling out of every twenty shillings which he shall stamp as aforesaid; and it shall be in the liberty of any person, who brings into the mint-house any bullion, plate, or Spanish coin, as aforesaid, to be present, and see the same melted, refined, and allayed, and

To prevent
deceit
and abuse
in money.

then to take a receipt of the master of the mint for the weight of that which is good silver, allayed as aforesaid, for which the mint-master shall deliver him the like weight in current money ; viz., every shilling to weigh three penny troy weight, and lesser pieces proportionably, deducting allowance for coinage as before expressed. And that this order, being of so great concernment, may not in any particular thereof fall to the ground, it is further ordered, that Mr. Richard Bellingham, Mr. Wm. Hibbens, Mr. Edward Rawson, Capt. John Leveret, and Mr. Thomas Clarke, be a committee appointed by this Court to appoint the mint-house in some convenient place in Boston ; to give John Hull, master of the mint, the oath suitable to his place ; and to approve of all other officers, and determine what else shall appear to them as necessarily to be done for the carrying an end¹ of the whole order."

It appears, from this Act, that there was some printed order, with reference to money, which we do not now have. This did not simply relate to the miscellaneous currency which has been referred to ; for, in the original draught, this Act was introduced by the following preamble, which, however, was struck out by the deputies : —

"Forasmuch as the new order about money is not well resented by the people, and full of difficulties, and unlikely to take effect, in regard no persons are found willing to try and stamp the same."²

Every person who has attempted to make this statute consistent with itself has failed. As has been shown in the foot-note to Hull's text, p. 145, the direction that our shilling should weigh three pennyweights is inconsistent with the previous declaration, that the shilling should be worth but twopence less than the English. In point of fact, as Hull explains in the text, the American shilling was worth but ninepence, or threepence less than the English. On an examination of the original draught of this law, we believe we have discovered the cause of this inconsistency. Where the statute now provides the allowance for the mint-master, in

¹ As we say "carrying a point."

² MS. Archives, Pecuniary, vol. i.

the words, "He is allowed to take one shilling out of every twenty," the original draught provided for a larger sum. In this shape, the statute passed the magistrates ; but, coming down to the deputies, it received this indorsement: "The deputies consent hereto, provided that the preface be left out ; and that instead of [here a wholly illegible erasure] for coinage, be inserted one shilling only, with reference to the consent of our honored magistrates hereto."

To this amendment the magistrates assented. The "preface" is the passage copied above from the original MS. In the statute itself, the other amendment has been made in the MS., and the draught altered, by the complete erasure of the number of pence originally named after the words "one shilling." With this correction, it was entered on the records. The complete erasure of the same sum, in the deputies' indorsement, is unwarrantable, and a little remarkable. It seems quite certain, however, that the allowance, as originally named, was one shilling eightpence, on their supposition that the English shilling weighed ninety-six grains. This would be one-twelfth of the sum coined. The original draught of the statute seems then to provide, though very blindly, first, for the reduction of the amount coined, by one-sixth from the English standard. This would make its weight, as they estimated the English coin, to be eighty grains. The statute probably then proposed to bring it down to seventy-two grains, and to grant the mint-master the eight grains thus deducted, for his allowance. On this somewhat clumsy computation, it would grant him one-twelfth part of the sum originally coined, or one shilling *eight*-pence in every twenty shillings ; and we therefore presume that this was the language of the original draught.

The change made by the deputies, in the plan of the magistrates, made the statute inconsistent with itself, and was enough to put a stop, for a time, to the whole plan. Mr. Hull, as is evident, refused to coin the money at the reduced rate of payment proposed ; and the Committee named in the

statute were compelled, therefore, to increase his compensation, on their own responsibility, to an allowance of fifteen-pence in every twenty shillings, besides one penny for waste in every ounce. This brought the allowance to one shilling sevenpence in every twenty, — nearly the same as it was in the original draught. We copy, from the manuscript archives in the State House, this very important paper in this transaction, most of which has not been before printed : —

June, 1652.

“Whereas the General Court have appointed us, whose names are hereunder expressed, a Committee to consider and determine of whatsoever may best tend for the carrying an end of the order for melting, refining, and coining of silver, having spent some time in considering of what may with most speed and least charge carry that business an end : Respecting the country’s advantage, do hereby declare, that there shall be a house built, at the country’s charge, of sixteen foot square, ten foot high, substantially wrought ; and further also provide all necessary tools and implements for the same at the country’s charge : all which is in acting. And, that the mint-master may not have just cause to complain, we cannot but judge it meet to allow the said mint-master, for melting, refining, and coining such bullion, plate, and money that shall be brought unto him, what in his judgment and conscience, on his experience, he shall judge equal, so as he exceed not 15^d in twenty shillings, over and besides a penny in every ounce allowed for waste till the next sessions ; against which time it is to be hoped sure experience will be had of what is necessary to be allowed, and there will be no just occasion of complaint ; only we do desire and advise the said John Hull, there being a likelihood of several sorts of work in which he is to be employed, where there is no refining, and so less labor, he would take less ; and where both refining and coining is necessary, there, if he find he cannot subsist with less, he may take fifteen-pence for every twenty shillings.

“ RI : BELLINGHAM.
WILLIAM HIBBINS.
EDWARD RAWSON, Sec.
THO. CLARKE.”¹

¹ State Archives, MS., Pecuniary, vol. i. at 1652.

This document is not signed by Hull, whose assent, indeed, was perhaps not necessary ; but on a rough draught of it, which is still preserved, is his autograph, elegantly and even finically written, as “ John Hull, mint-master.” This autograph we have copied among our *fac-similes* of his handwriting.

This act of the Committee was approved by the General Court, on the 28th of October, the same year. There is no date with the document itself. On the same rough draught are some rude devices for the coin.

Upon the back of the document ordering the mint-house is the following order : —

“ BOSTON, 11 June, 1652.

“ It is ordered, that the oath hereunder written shall be the oath that John Hull and Robert Saunderson shall take as equal officers for the minting of money.

“ Whereas you, John Hull and Robert Saunderson, are appointed by the order of the General Court, bearing date the 10th of June, 1652, to be officers for the Massachusetts jurisdiction in New England, for the melting, refining, and coining of silver, you do here swear, by the great name of the everliving God, that you will faithfully and diligently perform the duty of your places ; that all money coined by you shall be of the just allay of the English coin ; that every shilling shall be of due weight, viz., three penny troy weight, and all other pieces proportionably, according to the order of the Court, so near as you can. So help you, God.”

In the margin is the note, —

“ Jo. Hull deposed accordingly the same day before the Committee.

“ E. R., S. [Edward Rawson, Secretary].

“ Robert Saunderson deposed 19 $\frac{6}{mo}$, '52.”

On the same loose page, we have next the order of the Committee, which changes the money from square to round. It is in the following words : —

“Whereas by order of the General Court it is appointed that all moneys coined here for form shall be flat and square, we whose names are hereunder written, appointed by the General Court as a Committee to consider and determine of whatsoever we should judge necessary for the carrying an end of the order respecting minting of money, do hereby determine and declare, that the officers for the minting of money shall coin all the money that they mint in a round form, till the General Court shall otherwise declare their minds *therein, any thing in the former order notwithstanding.*” [The words in Italics are crossed out in the MS.]

There is the following record, of the date of June 22: —

“At a meeting of the Committee for carrying an end of the order concerning money, on 22d day of June, 1652, at which meeting it was determined, —

Rich. Bellingham. “First, That there should be a mint-house,
Mr. Hibbins.
Capt. Leveret. and all tools and implements necessary thereto,
Mr. Clarke.
Edw. Rawson. built and procured at the country’s charge;
which is in acting, and a declaration accordingly made.

“Second, That warrants should issue out to the constables of Boston for the pressing Isacke Cullimore for that service; which was done.

“Third, That another warrant should issue out to the said Isacke Cullimore for the empowering him to press other workmen, carpenters, &c., as may join with him in the country’s service; which was done.

“Fourth, That the said mint-house shall be set upon the land of the said John Hull; and also it is agreed between the said Committee and the said John Hull, that whenever, either by his death or otherwise, the said John Hull shall cease to be the mint-master, that then the country shall have the ground the house stands upon, at such price as two indifferent men, equally chosen by the country and said John Hull, or his assigns, shall determine; or else the said John Hull, on the like terms, shall have the said house, as two indifferent men shall judge it to be worth at the choice of the country.

“WILLIAM HIBBINS.
EDWARD RAWSON, Sec.
THOMAS CLARKE.”

No special record is preserved of the cost of the mint-house and tools. It appears, combined with a remarkable series of miscellaneous expenses, in the following entry in the Treasurer's accounts: —

“To several sums paid on the charge, — prisons and prisoners and keeper and executioner and mint-house. All is £395. 12s. 2d.”

This is in the Treasurer's summary of expenses presented to the General Court, and allowed. In the Library of the Historical Genealogical Society, the original account-book of Mr. Russell, the Treasurer at that period, is preserved. But several pages, including the mint-expenses, have been cut out and lost.

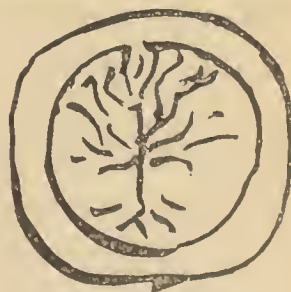
These transactions of the Commissioners were approved by the Court, at the next session, in the following vote: —

Oct. 26, 1652. “The whole Court, by their general vote, did allow and approve of the act of the Committee about minting of money, and respecting their building of the mint-house at the common charge, and allowance of the officers 15^d in every twenty shillings for their pains; and ordered the Committee to continue in power till the next election.”¹

Court's appro-
bation of the
Committee's
act about
minting mo-
ney, which
is on file.
8 mo. 1652.

And, at the same session, the permanent device on the coin was fixed by the following order: —

“For the prevention of washing or clipping of all such pieces of money as shall be coined within this jurisdiction, it is ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that henceforth all pieces of money coined aforesaid shall have a double ring on either side, with this inscription: — Massachusetts, and a tree in the centre, on the one side; and New England, and the year of our Lord, on the other side, according to this draught here in the margin.”¹



To prevent frauds in monies.

¹ Records, vol. iv. pp. 104, 118.

There is no sort of statement as to the quantity of money that was coined under these Acts, excepting the general statement of Hutchinson, that a large amount of it was issued. It was soon feared that it was too largely exported. On the 12th of May, 1654, the Committee of the General Court reported¹ that the exportation of money prevented the very object for which it was coined; that those who exported it lost one-fourth by so doing, — such being, in the supposition of the Committee, the result of exporting a shilling, which would be worth only ninepence in England; that such loss could only be made up by extortion in trade, and wrought an under-value on all commodities. They therefore provided for a searcher for money at every port, and that every transgressor found carrying more than twenty shillings should lose his whole visible estate.

This report, however, was not accepted. The closing part of it is in the following words: —

“This Court doth therefore order and enact, that whatever person or persons, be they strangers or inhabitants, that shall directly or indirectly export out of this jurisdiction any of the coin of this country after the publication hereof, shall forfeit his or their whole estate, one half to the country, and the other half to such person or persons as shall sue for the same; and, to the end that the breakers of this law may be discovered, it is ordered that the County Court shall choose and appoint, in every port-town within their several counties, a water bayly or searcher, that is hereby impowered to search any suspicious persons or vessels, chests, trunks, or any other thing or place, and, upon discovery of any sums of money about to be transported, shall seize the same, and present the case to the next County Court, who shall determine whether the said money was intended or about to be transported; and if they so find it, then to forfeit the same, one half to the officer, and the rest to the country. And if any shall travel by land, and be suspected to carry money, any person with a constable may search for the same: if it be discovered, it shall be forfeited, one half to the constable, and the other part

¹ State Archives, MS., Pecuniary, vol. i. at date.

to be equally to be divided between the person and constable that do search for it.¹ The magistrates have passed this with reference to the consent of their brethren the deputies hereto.

“BOSTON, 22 May, 1654.

“EDWARD RAWSON, Secret.

“The deputies cannot consent hereto.

“WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.”

At the next session, an Act, with a similar object, passed the Court. It differs from the draught above, by naming the “searchers” for each port, and by providing that one-third only of the penalty shall go to the informer and officer, and two-thirds to the country. Shipmasters or seamen privy to the offence are to be fined twenty pounds each, to be divided in the same manner.

The Act, of course, was wholly inoperative.

We have no further information with regard to our coin until the year 1660, when the following order passed the General Court: —

“It is ordered, that Capt. Gookin, and the Treasurer, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, and Mr. Wm. Parks, shall be a Committee, and are hereby impowered, to Committee to agree with the mint-master. treat with the mint-master for allowing such an annual sum as may be agreed upon as a meet honorarium to the country for the yearly benefit they receive by minting, that so the country may reap some benefit after so long a forbearance, having given them the benefit thereof for the time past, or otherwise to declare that this Court intends to agree with some other meet person to mint the money of this country; making their report to the next Court what they shall do herein.”

This Committee accordingly reported, May 22, 1661: —

“We have, according to order, treated with the mint-masters, Mr. Hull and Mr. Saunderson, and find them utterly unwilling to pay any certain proportion to the country of the

¹ It would seem as if the first half were intended for the country; but the MS. reads “constable.”

allowance paid them for coining money : only they offered ten pounds, as a free gift to the country, in case they will please to accept of it. But the Committee refused that proffer, alleging that the use of the mint and house required, in justice, some certain part of the income received by them, which, upon examination, will be found to be sixty-two pounds upon every thousand pounds, out of which the Committee propounded they should allow one-twentieth part for the country ; but they consented not. This is the present state of that affair ; leaving it to the Court to take such further order therein as unto them seems meet. — Dated 6th June, 1661.

“ DANIEL GOOKEN.
RICHARD RUSSELL.
ANTHONY STODDARD.
WILLIAM PARKE.”

“The Court judged it meet to order that this Committee should be re-empowered to treat with the mint-masters, and to receive the ten pounds above mentioned, and what else they can get by way of recompense for the mint-house for the time past, and that it be delivered to the Treasurer to be bestowed in powder.”¹

In the next year, 1662, comes into our history the anecdote of Sir Thomas Temple's witty reply to Charles the Second, already mentioned in the Memoir of Capt. Hull, p. 120. Sir Thomas was the first agent sent out by the General Court, in an official capacity, to London. He was almost in despair as to the Colony's fortunes, when he had an opportunity to be presented to the Privy Council, and make a favorable representation of New England there, and afterwards to the king in private. In his letter to the General Court, still preserved in the State Archives,² he gives an account of both interviews, as highly satisfactory. He does not mention any conversation about the coin ; but as, from the draught of an address to the king in 1684, which

¹ Records, p. 12, vol. iv. part 2, May 22, 1661.

² State Archives, MS., political volume at date.

we have copied in the beginning of this note, it is certain that Temple did show some of it at that time at the council-table, these facts, combined, certainly give a great probability to the anecdote. As related in Hollis's Memoirs, the earliest direct authority for it now extant, it is said that the king expressed great wrath against the Colony, and said "that they had invaded his prerogative by coining money. Sir Thomas told his majesty that the colonists had but little acquaintance with law; that they had no ill design; and thought it no crime to make money for their own use. In the course of the conversation, Sir Thomas took some of the money out of his pocket, and presented it to the king. On one side of the coin was a pine-tree, of that kind which is thick and bushy at the top. Charles inquired what tree that was. Sir Thomas informed him it was the royal oak; adding, that the Massachusetts people, not daring to put his majesty's name on their coin during the late troubles, had impressed upon it the emblem of the oak which preserved his majesty's life. This account of the matter brought the king into good-humor, and disposed him to hear what Sir Thomas had to say in their favor, calling them a parcel of honest dogs." ¹

With reference to this anecdote, it is to be observed, that the word *pine-tree* was never applied, in any official language, to the device on the coin. The name "pine-tree shillings" has, however, always been given to them in conversation. But if Temple, who had been a loyalist, chose to call the device an oak-tree, he had a right to. If he remembered that it was adopted within a very few weeks after the victory at Worcester, and the day which the fugitive king spent in the royal oak, his reply had a vein of satire in it as well as pleasantry. ²

The device is once spoken of, in the records of the depu-

¹ Vol. i. p. 397. The authority was Dr. Elliot, writing to Hollis, May 25, 1768.

² Charles's day in the royal oak was the 6th of September, 1652. The statute directing the device of our coin was passed on the 26th of October of the same year.

ties, as a tree. The pine-tree first appears, among the devices of the State, on the original seal of the General Court, where is a small pine-tree on each side of the Indian.

So little fear of royal displeasure, in this matter of coinage, had the Colony, that in this same year, 1662, the following Act passed the General Court : —

1662, May 2. “It is ordered by this Court, and the mint-master is hereby enjoined, out of the first bullion that comes to his hands, to coin twopenny-pieces of silver, in proportion according to the just value and allay of other monies allowed here, to answer the occasions of the country for exchange ; that is, the first year fifty pounds, in such small money for every hundred pounds by him to be coined ; and for after-time twenty pounds, in like small money annually for every hundred pounds that shall be coined. And this order is to continue in force for seven years, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.”

All the twopenny-pieces of our coinage are, in consequence, stamped with the date 1662. As all the other coins have the date 1652, when they were ordered, Mr. Ruding supposes, in his “Annals of the British Coinage,” that the twopenny-pieces are not genuine, or that the date in Folke’s Tables had been read wrong. In these suppositions he was in error.

In 1665, when the king’s commissioners were in this country, of whose proceedings Hull speaks with so much indignation in his Diary, they called attention — so far as we know, for the first time — to the violation of the prerogative involved in this coinage. They use the following language, with regard to it, in Article 22 of their demands, presented at the session of the General Court, May, 1665 : —

That the law about
the mint-house
be repealed, &c.

“That, page 61, title Money [of the Colony Laws], ‘the law that a mint-house,’ &c., be repealed ; for coining is a royal prerogative, for the usurping of which the act of indemnity is only a salvo.”

In 1667, at the session of May 15, another attempt was made by the General Court to obtain better terms from Hull and Sanderson for the profit of minting. The following is the language of the record : —

“Mr. Thomas Danforth, Major-General Jno. Leveret, Capt. George Corwin, Mr. Anthony Stoddard, and Mr. Wm. Parks, are appointed a Committee to treat and agree with the master or masters of the mint in reference to some allowance, annually or otherwise, for and in consideration of the charge the country hath been at in erecting a mint-house, and for the use of it, for so many years, without any considerable satisfaction, and to make return thereof to the next session of this Court ; and, in case they cannot agree with the present mint-masters, they are empowered to make such agreement as they can with any other.”

This Committee reported at the next session, October of 1667, as follows : —

“In observance of an order of the General Court, held the 15th of May, 1667, nominating and empowering us, whose names are subscribed, to treat and agree with the masters of the mint, — we having duly weighed the country’s interest in the edifices appertaining to the said office, and agitated the matter with Mr. John Hull and Mr. Robert Saunderson, the present mint-masters, have agreed with them as followeth ; namely, in consideration of the country’s disbursements on the said edifices, and for the interest the General Court hath therein, to pay into the public treasury, within six months next coming, forty pounds in money ; and, for seven years next coming (the said Hull and Saunderson, or either of them, personally abiding in the said employ), to allow the public treasury annually, in money, ten pounds, the said term to begin from the date above named. In witness hereof, the said Hull and Saunderson have hereunto put their hands the day and year above written.

“JOHN HULL.

ROBERT SANDERSON.

“JNO. LEVERET.

THO. DANFORTH.

ANTHONY STODDARD.

WM. PARKE.

“The Court thankfully acknowledgeth the good service of the gentlemen subscribers in the premises, and order it to be recorded.”¹

At the same session, the Court decline “the proposal of Joseph Jencks, sen., for making money.” Joseph Jencks was of Lynn, and before had asked help, unsuccessfully, in drawing wire.

The importation of Spanish silver was still so large, that constant efforts were made to obtain its introduction as a part of the currency. These finally resulted in the following statute, passed at the session of Oct. 8, 1672: —

“Whereas pieces of eight are of more value to carry out of the country than they will yield to mint into our coin, by reason whereof pieces of eight which might else come to coining are carried out of the country, it is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that all pieces of eight, that are full weight and good silver, — that is, six shillings of N. E. money, of Mexico, Seville, and Pillar, and so all lesser pieces of each sort, — shall pass in this jurisdiction as current as our own money, pieces of eight at six shillings apiece, and all lesser pieces proportionably thereunto; provided that all such pieces that shall pass in this jurisdiction have a stamp affixed upon them, which shall be NE., to evidence that [they] are of right allay and due weight; and that Mr. John Hull and Mr. Robert Saunderson, or either of them, be the persons for the tryal and stamping of such money; and that thereby [there be] fourpence upon the pound paid for the rest, one fourth thereof to the officer, and the rest to the Country Treasurer.”²

At a subsequent period of the same session, the following section was added to the same statute: —

“Whereas pieces of eight, weighing six shillings, are ordered to pass for six shillings, and ordered to be stamped, &c., according to the said law, reference hereto being had; and forasmuch as few or no pieces of eight are of that weight, and so the intent of good to the country therein will be dis-

¹ Records, vol. iv. part 2, p. 347.

² Ibid. vol. iv. part 2, p. 533.

appointed, — as an addition to the said law, be it ordered and enacted by this Court and the authority thereof, that pieces of eight under the weight of six shillings shall likewise be passable for so much of New-England money as they shall weigh, and that it be impressed upon the stamp how much each piece doth weigh, in legible figures, with the other letters on the same, and of the same allay.”¹

In this Act, we find the introduction of the Spanish dollar into our currency, — that being the piece of eight reals alluded to. Its valuation was fixed at precisely the point which it now bears ; namely, six Massachusetts shillings. It is only to readers outside of New England that we need say, that though the pine-tree coin has long since vanished, except from the cabinets of the curious, almost all prices in retail trade are stated in the terms of that currency to this day. “A shilling,” in the familiar language of New England, still means a sixth of a Spanish dollar.

On the 12th of May, 1675, a new Committee is appointed to treat with Hull and Saunderson. The order is in the following words : —

“Whereas the time formerly agreed upon with the mint-masters is now expired, for the future well-settling of that matter, this Court doth desire and impower the honoured Governor and magistrates residing in Boston, or any three of them, to be a Committee to treat with Order settling the mint. such persons as they shall think meet, and to make such an agreement with them, for the coining of the money of this jurisdiction, as may be most encouraging to all persons that have bullion to bring in the same to the mint.”²

This Committee obtain rather more favorable terms for the public. They report, July 9, 1675 : —

“In pursuance of an order of the General Court, held May the 12th, 1675, relating to the future settling of the

¹ Some of these worn Spanish pieces, which had wholly lost their original impression, stamped with N.E. on the one side, and the figures 12, 6, or 3, on the other, exist in some of the English collections. Both Folke and Ruding are puzzled by them ; and the earliest authorities supposed they were stamped at Newcastle. Folke's copies of them are copied in Mr. Felt's “Currency of Massachusetts.”

² Records, vol. v. p. 29.

mint, it is agreed by us the subscribers, as a Committee appointed thereunto, as followeth ; i.e., that the former masters of the mint — viz., Robert Saunderson and John Hull — do continue to mint what silver bullion shall come in for this seven years next to come, if either of them live so long, and do receive of those that bring bullion to the mint, as a full reward for their pains, twelvepence for every twenty shillings, and threepence for the waste of every three ounces of sterling silver, that they shall so mint, — viz., fifteen-pence in the whole for every twenty shillings ; and the said minters are to pay into the Treasurer of the country, in money, twenty pounds per annum during abovesaid term. That this is our agreement, witness our hands hereunto put, the 3d of June, 1675.

“ JOHN LEVERET.
 SYMON BRADSTREETE.
 EDWARD TYNG.
 ROBERT SANDERSON.
 JOHN HULL.

“ The Court approves of this return, and the settlement of the mint accordingly, as attests

EDWARD RAWSON, Secretary.”

In the next year, 1676, Edmund Randolph [Sept. 20 — Oct. 12] renews the charge of violation of prerogative, in his narrative addressed to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. His language is : —

“ And, as a mark of sovereignty, they coin money stamped with inscription *Mattachusetts* and a tree in the centre, on the one side ; and *New England*, with the year 1652 and the value of the piece, on the reverse. Their money is of the standard of England for fineness ; the shillings weigh three penny-weight troy, in value of English money ninepence farthing, and the smaller coins proportionable. These are the current moneys of the Colony, and not to be transported thence, except twenty shillings for necessary expenses, on penalty of confiscation of the whole visible estate of the transporters.

“ All the money is stamped with these figures, 1652.”¹

¹ Hutchinson's Original Papers at date.

In 1678, in an address to the crown, there occurs the following request that the king will name a stamp for the coin: —

“As for that particular of our coining money with our own impress, his majesty, of his gracious clemency towards us, hath not been pleased, as yet, to declare his pleasure therein. And we have confidence, that when he shall truly be informed of the simplicity of our actings, the public joy thereof to his subjects here, and the great damage that the stoppage thereof will inevitably be to our necessary commerce, and abatement of his majesty’s customs yearly accruing by our merchants and navigation, and is paid at London, his majesty will not account those to be friends to his crown that shall seek to interrupt us therein; and, for the impress put upon it, we shall take it as his majesty’s signal owning of us, if he will please to order such an impress as shall be to him most acceptable.”

As the commerce of the Colony increased, and the necessities of its currency, occasional petitions and memorials were sent to the General Court, with various propositions, among which a free mint seems to have been prominent. With reference to these, the following report was made in 1677: —

“In pursuance of an order to obtain the coinage of bullion and stoppage of transportation of money, we have discoursed Capt. Hull and others, and find no other expedient but the raising of the value of our coin, or making our money for future higher by nine or twelve grains, or making the mint free; for the first, if it be done, three halfpence in the shilling, and the law for exportation of money duly attended. We hope it may obtain what is desired. [2.] The paying coinage out of the Treasury we find the charge uncertain, but great, and both expedients attended with difficulty; and therefore judge them worthy of further consideration. In the mean time, we judge it meet to double the custom of all wines, brandy, and rum imported; which being drawn into the treasury, part of it may pay the charge of a free mint, if the Court afterwards see meet so to improve the same.

“JOSEPH DUDLEY.
RICHARD WALDRON.
DANIEL FISHER.¹

“June 2, 1677.”

¹ State Archives, MS., Pecuniary, vol. i. at date.

In 1679, Aug. 12, there is the report on file of the officers who arrested one Peter Loephilin, for clipping coin, in Boston. They discovered clippings, silver filings, and a melting-ladle in his chest. It will be remembered that this offence became very formidable in England before the introduction, under Isaac Newton, of the milled coinage.¹ At the session of Oct. 31, the same year, the deputies attempted to introduce the Spanish coinage as a part of the currency, without any new stamp; but the upper house would not consent. The following is the draught of the unsuccessful bill:—

“For the encouragement of the importation of bullion and increase of money in these parts, this Court doth order and enact, and it is hereby enacted, that henceforth all pieces of eight, of good silver and of the coin of Mexico or Seville, and pillar-pieces, shall pass current at six shillings per piece. And half-pieces of same sorts at three shillings, and all smaller pieces of said sorts after five shillings per piece of eight.

“The deputies have passed this with reference to the consent of our honoured magistrates.

“WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.

Oct. 31, 1679. “Not consented to by the magistrates.

“EDWD. RAWSON, Secretary.”²

In 1680, a petition for the establishment of a free mint, dated May 19, contains the following sensible suggestions, which are quite in advance of the average intelligence of its time:—

“1. All the money that now passeth the mint (besides the waste there) returns to the owner at least six and a quarter in the hundred lighter than it entered. And the impress adds nothing to the intrinsic value, — a Spanish cross in all other places being as well esteemed as a New-England pine.

“2. The least loss being six and a quarter per cent, and commonly more, is so considerable for the mere stamp, that nothing but necessity makes it tolerable; those who are able choosing rather to lay up, or send their plate, bullion, and

¹ Macaulay, chap. xx.

² MS. Archives as above, at the date 1679.

pieces of $\frac{8}{8}$ ¹ abroad, and others to sell to those that export the same, — having something more than the mint will yield. By which discouragement, little of late years, compared to what is laid up and carried away, hath been coined, and of that little much dispersed into other Colonies; and thence consequently groweth the great difficulty, and decay of trade.”

With reference to this suggestion, Capt. Hull submitted the following paper, which is preserved in the archives in his own handwriting, though without any name. Every word of it shows an ignorance of the real laws of currency; but it should be remembered, that, in writing as he did, Hull did but adopt the views of some of the greatest statesmen of his age: —

[*Statement in Hull's handwriting.*]

BOSTON, June 6, 1680.

If foreign coin be advanced without great regard both to weight and fineness, and also without there be a great quantity of it in the country before it be advanced, it will be much loss to the country that so advances it; and the gain is only to strangers that bring it in.

If our own coin be carried out of the country, it is a sign that it is not so light as it may be, and that it would be for public advantage to make it lighter, unless we had some public income by mines as the Spaniard hath.

If every shilling be made 12 grains lighter, then all those that have good pieces of eight — i.e., both of good silver and full weight — will advance about 7^d or 7^d $\frac{1}{2}$ more than now they do.

Every 12^d then to be 2 penny-weight and half.

6^d one penny-weight 6 grains.

3^d 15 grains.

2^d 10 grains.

The same fineness to be kept, and put a new date.

Let the coinage and waste be as by the last settlement.

Obj. 1. From the difficulty of making payment.

Ans. 1. Let all money-debts above six months old be paid

¹ Meaning the Spanish dollar, or piece of eight reals.

one half in new money, and the other half in old money at its present and former value, or the debtor and creditor equally bear the loss between them.

2. All debts not six months old be paid in new money, or the old as advanced, unless any particular contract positively express otherwise.

If all the bullion of the country be coined at the public charge, it will reduce it to a certain fineness; and, being weight for weight, the merchant may as well transport the coined money as the bullion; and then you may have no money left in the country.

There are, about this time, two draughts of bills for a free mint; but neither of these passed.

These documents are the last preserved, which have any reference to the action of our own government as to our coinage. It is, however, impossible to say precisely when the mint was stopped. In the settlement of Hull's affairs, after his death in 1683, no allusion is made to the mint-house, which stood upon his land, and which he and Saunderson had purchased, in 1675, of the Colony. It had been, perhaps, bought of him by Saunderson, who survived him, and probably carried on the coinage, without any new order of the Court, for a short time after Hull's death. On the 15th of January, 1684-5, the officers of the king's mint, in London, present to the commissioners for his majesty's treasury a report, in which our mint is spoken of as still in existence. This report is in the following language:—

“To the Right Honorable Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury:—

“May it please your Lordships,—In obedience to your lordships' commands, signified by Mr. Secretary Guy the 24th of November last, in reference to a mint which hath hitherto been kept up and employed in Boston, in New England,—

“We have met with a copy of what was ordered by the then Court, as they termed themselves, being of the Colony of Massachusetts, and sitting at Boston, in New England, did,

in the year 1652, settle the said mint ; which manner of said settlement we put down in their own words.”

[Here the commissioners copy, from the statute-book of 1660, the law relating to the coin, as it then existed.]

“ We have examined the twelpence, 6^d, and 3^d pieces coined at the mint in Boston in N.E. aforesaid for weight and allay, and do find, that, as to the allay, it is equal to his majesty’s silver coins of England, but different in weight, being less by about 21 grains upon the shilling, and so proportionably in the other coins, from his majesty’s shilling-coin, which is near twopence three farthings upon the shilling, and is about 22½ per cent ; besides a third more is allowed for the coinage than what hath been allowed for the coinage of his majesty’s silver mints in England.

“ The preserving of one certain standard for weight and fineness of his majesty’s silver coins, in all his majesty’s kingdoms and dominions, is very much for the security and advantage of his majesty ; and the altering thereof, which are the common measures given by his majesty unto his people, cannot well be done in any one of his majesty’s dominions, without eminent prejudice to the rest.

“ Besides, according to the advantage before set down, it will be a great encouragement for the drawing away the current coins of this kingdom, so far as that trade may promote it. It will also be the occasion of making all merchandize and other goods rise in proportion to that money.

“ We are humbly of opinion, if his majesty shall think fit to settle a mint in New England for making of coins of silver of 12 pences, 6^d, and 3^d, that they be made in weight and fineness answerable to his majesty’s silver coins of England, and not otherwise.

“ And for smaller pieces, (viz.) farthings, halfpence, and penny-pieces, if his majesty shall so think fit, that they be made of tin, and so supplied from hence, which will be to his majesty’s advantage.

“ It also may be observed, that though they have continued this unwarrantable way of coining of moneys ever since the year 1652, yet there is no alteration of date appears upon their coin of 12^d, 6^d, and 3^d, but the same date, (viz.) 1652, as at first coining of them.

“ It is also further to be observed, that, for the encourage-

ment of bringing silver to their mint to be coyned, they do promise that these shall be but twopence in the shilling less in value than the English shilling; but, after the mint-master hath the same in custody and coined the same, they order him to pay the money out by weight at 3^d troy weight for their shilling, and less on pieces proportionally; which 3 pence troy [dwt. troy] is about $9\frac{4}{9}$ sterling, and makes out the account, as before, about $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, besides the charge of coinage. All which we humbly leave to your lordships' further consideration.

“Dated at the mint, the 15th day of January, 1684.

“THO. NEALE.
CHAS. DUNCOMBE.
JAS. HOARE.”¹

The mint was probably suppressed by Andros, in compliance with this report; for on the fifteenth day of July, 1686, a second report was made from the officers of the royal mint to Rochester, then Treasurer of England, in reply to a petition for its re-establishment.

This report is in the following words: —

“To the Rt. Honble Laurence, Earle of Rochester, Lord High Treasurer of England: —

“May it please your Lordship, — In obedience to your lordship's commands, signified to us, the 10th of this month, by letter from Henry Guy, Esq., we have considered of the papers enclosed to us in the said letter concerning a mint to be re-established in New England, and do find, that upon a like reference for the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury of the 24th November, 1684, of this matter, the officers of the mint did, by their report of the 15th of January following, deliver their opinion concerning the same, a copy of which report is hereunto annexed, no cause appearing to us to alter our judgments therein; presuming only to add this further, that when a grant was obtained by Sir Thomas Vyner and others, in the year 1662, for coining small silver moneys in Ireland, after it was by his majesty in council referred to the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Ex-

¹ MS. Archives, Pecuniary, at date.

chequer, who heard the patentees and the officers of the mint upon report of their lordships, his late majesty, by his order in council of the 14th of November, 1662, was pleased to command the said letters patent to be delivered up at the board, to be cancelled, for weighty reasons expressed in the said report. We may likewise observe to your lordship, that when, in the year 1678, the Earl of Carlisle did make application for power to erect a mint in Jamaica, of which island he was Governor, it was then found impracticable, under the terms of keeping the weight and fineness of the moneys to English standard, (which cannot be altered, as we humbly conceive,) without dishonor to his majesty's coins, and prejudice to his subjects of his other dominions; in which opinion we are confirmed by the report made upon this occasion by the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations, the 8th of February, 1678.

“As for the second part of Mr. Guy's letter, which directs us to think upon some other inscription, more agreeable to the king's prerogative, to be stamp't upon the coin of New England, if a mint be settled there, we crave some time to consider of, after your lordship shall have perused these papers, and will be ready to obey your lordship therein.

“Dated at the mint, the fifteenth day of July, 1686.

“PHIL. LOYD.
THO. NEALE.
CHA. DUNCOMBE.
JA. HOARE.”¹

Thus silently fell an institution by which the Colony had, consciously or unconsciously, usurped what has since been regarded an especial prerogative of sovereignty. The General Court established it at a time when it conducted the affairs of the infant State, literally without any interference from authorities at home. This was, as Randolph maliciously says, at the very time when the Colony assumed possession of the Province of Maine, and gave more firmness to its administration in other regards. But it is not fair to say that it was, in itself, an act of rebellion: it was rather an intimation of

¹ MS. Archives, Pecuniary, at date.

that independence in which the Colony actually lived, and in which its rulers would have been glad to continue had affairs in England permitted.¹

There is no record whatever of the amount of the coinage. Hutchinson says, however, that a very large sum was coined. He adds, that great care was taken to preserve the purity of the standard. It is to the credit both of John Hull and of the Colony government, that his work — which was never tested by authority, nor even suspected at home — bore so perfectly as it did the ordeal of the unfriendly Commissioners of the Royal Mint, at the period of its suppression. The rate established for the shilling (three-fourths of the English) fixed the colonial currency, from that time to the adoption of federal money, at the value of three-fourths of the sterling currency of the same names.

The coin circulated at least as late as the Revolution; but is now scarcely ever seen, excepting in the cabinets of the curious. On the same page with the *fac-simile* of Hull's handwriting, we have copied the various authorized pieces. In Folke's Tables, in Ruding's "Annals of the English Coinage," and in Felt's "Currency of Massachusetts," there are copies of two other pieces, bearing the word "Mat-tachusets," which are found in English cabinets. One of these is a silver penny; and the other a medal, with the good Samaritan on the obverse. But there is no mention of these in the records of the Colony. There are a few unique silver coins, struck by Lord Baltimore, in Maryland; but, with that exception, no other of the thirteen Colonies established any mint before the troubles of the Revolution.

¹ Randolph's words are these: "All this money is stamped with these figures, '1652,' that year being the era of the Commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free State, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent Colonies under their ordinance, and summoned deputies to sit in the General Court; which year is still commemorated on their coin."

NOTE D. — PAGE 214.

LETTER OF THE CLERGY TO JOHN DURY.

The Antiquarian Society has in its possession the original draught of the letter of the New-England clergy to John Dury, referred to in the foregoing Diary. It was composed, as stated, in Latin, by Mr. John Norton, and transcribed by Mr. John Wilson, probably on account of his more approved chirography. It bears the autograph signatures of forty-two ministers, including the President and Fellows of the College in their official capacity.

Samuel Mather, in the Appendix to his "Apology for the Liberties of the Churches in New England," refers to this manuscript as being then in his hands. He says, moreover, that he has also a letter written to Dury, on the same occasion, by Mr. John Davenport, at that time minister of New Haven, which was signed by the ministers of Connecticut Colony.

It would be desirable to publish these letters, with *fac-similes* of the signatures. It may be that the letter of Davenport cannot be discovered. That of Norton will in due time be printed, either by itself, or associated with other matter of a cognate character.

NOTE E. — PAGE 228.

THE OLD SOUTH CHURCH.

The history of the Great Synod of 1661, and of the formation of the Third or Old South Church, is an important part, not only of our ecclesiastical, but of our political history. It is so admirably condensed by Gov. Hutchinson, and has been

so carefully treated by Emerson, in his history of the First Church ; by Wisner, in his discourses on the history of the Old South Church ; by Mr. Felt, in his ecclesiastical history ; and by Mr. Barry, — that we need only refer to those works for the illustration of Hull's somewhat impassioned notices of the progress of the secession. The student who is interested in that secession will observe that this Diary brings to light some new points in its history. There is, we believe, no other authority which shows the existence of a divided feeling at a period so early as some of the notices of such feeling in the text.

Through the kindness of Dr. Blagden, we have been permitted to examine the records of the Third Church, and its early papers. We find that the curious original draught of the letter known to the ecclesiastical historians as the " Letter of the Sisters," in which the wives of the seceding members claim to be dismissed from the First Church, is in Capt. Hull's handwriting. He was doubtless a leading member of the seceders ; and we suppose there is as little doubt that this letter was drawn by him. It is in the following words : —

" Reverend and dearly Beloved in the Lord, — Having had communion with our respective husbands in the Supper of the Lord this sabbath, and judging it for edification and consolation so to doe, wee humbly intreat you candidly to interpret it ; and, for the helping of our joy in the Lord for the future, earnestly request you so to release us of our covenant engagement unto yorselves, that wee may, without offence to you, have liberty so to provide for our own peace and spirituall comfort, as may, in our own consciences, be most suitable to our duty, for our edification in the Lord."

Mr. Wisner mentions, in his history, that a number of the Massachusetts clergy sent a letter by Hull to the English dissenters, in the hope of inducing some clergyman, whom Hull might select, to come over, and act as a colleague with Mr. Thacher, in 1669.

Mr. Wisner was not aware whether Hull visited England

at that time. As there is no doubt he did do so, we print the letter here, and also the letter of Mr. Thacher, and nineteen brethren of the church, giving him authority to select a minister for him. Neither of these documents, we believe, has ever been printed before : —

“To the reverend, much-honored, and beloved in our Lord Jesus, the ministers and brethren of such of the churches of Christ in England unto whose hands these letters may come, and who may be more especially concerned in the contents of them : Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour : —

“Reverend and Beloved in the Lord, — It is not without much trembling of heart for the ark of God, both here and elsewhere, that we presume to make this our application to you, by way of earnest efflagitation for the travelling interest of Christ in this wilderness, the holy God having, in extraordinary displeasure (even unto astonishment), contended with these churches, by a judicial and successive removal of many eminent and faithful ministers of the gospel, who in their day were principal pillars amongst us ; whence it is that divers of them are compelled to sit, as Sion in her widowhood, spreading forth their hands for some that might become instrumental comforters unto them, to relieve them who yet are far from them. It would be too tedious here to enumerate the causes of those disappointments which we have, for a considerable time, sighed and sorrowed under. But this is that which doth silence us therein, that the righteous Lord hath done it. He hath done that which he hath devised ; he hath stretched out the line ; he hath, notwithstanding, drawn his hand from destroying. We are, notwithstanding, not altogether without some hope that our gracious God will not always chide with us, and that he will not pour out all his anger, but grant unto us (though most unworthy) a reviving in the midst of the years. We therefore desire to wait for him, in the way of his judgments, until he show himself favorable to his wearied heritage. We would not be found wanting in any duty incumbent upon ourselves (his watchmen), in order to the consolation and edification of his churches, here planted and established in the faith and order of the gospel ; but would take all opportunities presented

for the promoting thereof, that they may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God, and be furnished with an able and faithful ministry, where either there never was any placed, or where the Lord hath made a breach upon us in those our pleasant things. And as there be sundry under the one and the other consideration, so, in particular, in reference unto the Third Church in Boston, lately gathered (concerning which there hath been, and still are, many thoughts of heart with us), we are not able easily to express of how great importance, to the establishment of the kingdom of Jesus Christ amongst us, their being provided of an eminent burning and shining light would be; and, on the other hand, what a discouraging remora thereunto, and unhappy obstruction to the progress of the gospel in these parts, their suffering and disappointment therein may become in this their and our necessitous condition. At present, such is the good hand of Divine Providence, that we have a convenient season of transmitting our affectionate entreaties unto yourselves, for your pious and faithful solicitude for us and them in this matter, by our dearly beloved brother in Christ, Mr. John Hull, whose praise is in the gospel, who hath received instructions to negotiate in this weighty affair for that church above mentioned, to which he doth belong; concerning which, we take ourselves bound to testify, that it is a precious flock of Christ, regularly proceeding in their first gathering into church estate, approved therein both by magistratical authority, and also by the elders and messengers of churches, convened at their first constitution; giving them the right hand of fellowship as a testimony thereof, and ever since standing and walking regularly in the order of communion of churches, — a society (above most) amiable and eligible, and with whom a minister of the gospel shall find Christian and honorable entertainment, and will be highly esteemed of in love for his work's sake among them. We pray you, therefore, that (as to this our beloved brother) you would please to receive him in the Lord as becometh saints; and that you would assist him by your counsel and prayers, to your utmost, in whatsoever business he hath need of you, and in particular in that great trust committed to him, of seeking out for a suitable supply of some able minister of the New Testament for that eminent congregation of the Lord.

“ We beg a continued interest in your love and prayers, and pray that the Lord would be seen in all our mounts; that the

good-will of Him who dwelt in the bush may be with you and us in this hour of temptation ; that we may keep the word of his patience, and not deny his name, holding fast that which we have, that no man may take away our crown ; and that the God of grace, even our God, would supply all your and our need, according to his riches in glory, by Christ Jesus, in whom we are

“ Your affectionate and ever-loving brethren in the fellowship of the gospel,

“ JOHN ALLIN.
EDMU. BROWNE.
EDWARD BULKELY.
JOHN SHERMAN.
INCREASE MATHER.
SAMUEL DANFORTH.
SAMUEL TORREY.
ZACH. SYMMES.
SAMUEL WHITING.
THOMAS COBBET.

JOHN WARD.
JOHN HIGGINSON.
WILLIAM HUBBARD.
FRANCIS DANA.
ANTIPAS NEWMAN.
SAMUEL PHILLIPS.
SAMUEL WHITING, jun.
THOMAS SHEPHERD.
JOHN HALE.

“ BOSTON, Nov. 4, 1669.”

“ BOSTON, Nov. 8, 1669.

“ Dearly beloved Brother, Mr. John Hull, — When God shall have brought you unto England, whither you are now by God’s grace bound, we do desire your special care to inquire after, and seek out, and get for us, some able, orthodox, godly man (one who is in choice esteem and repute among the pious and wise-hearted who are of the Congregational way), to join with the Rev. Mr. Thomas Thacher, whereunto he is already called by us, in the work of the Lord, in the ministry of the gospel. We cannot so well nominate any person here as you will be informed concerning them when you come thither. We therefore leave the whole unto yourself. You well know the necessity which we are in, and the weight and concernment of it unto us ; therefore shall cease from giving arguments unto yourself to ensure your care and diligence therein. And we do hereby empower you to act herein for us as if ourselves were personally [illegible] shall with thankfulness acknowledge and own your actings thereon. Now, the good Lord, the Lord of the harvest, the great Shepherd of the sheep, the God of the spirits of all flesh, direct your way herein unto such a one as may be much to the glory of God, and may come to us with the fullness of the blessing of [the] gospel, and that may be a means, in His

hands who holdeth the stars in his right hand, of conversion and building up of the souls of this poor little flock which you have left in this wilderness, for whom we crave your frequent prayers when absent, and the prayers of the faithful where God shall cast you, that we may be preserved blameless, in these hours of our temptation, unto his heavenly kingdom ; to whom be glory throughout all the churches, world without end. Now, the Keeper of Israel, who neither slumbers nor sleeps, be your all-in-all, preserve, bless, and direct you in all your ways in this affair ; giving you to find favor in the eyes and hearts of those you may have to do with, in this or any other of your own business, and in his good season return you unto your very affectionate brothers.

(Signed)

“ HEZEKIAH USHER.	WILLIAM SALTER.
THOMAS SAVAGE.	THEOPH. HOARE.
JOSH. SCOTTOW.	WILLIAM DAWES.
PETER BRACKETT.	BENJAMIN THURSTUN.
JOSEPH ROCK.	JOSIAH BELCHER.
JOHN WING.	JOHN AKEN.
JOHN SANFORD.	WM. DAVIS.
BENJN. GIBBS.	EDWARD RAYNSFORD.
JACOB ELLIOT.	ROBERT WALKER.
JOHN HAPPING.	JAMES PEMBERTON.
JOSEPH DAVIS.	SETH PERRY.
JOSEPH BELLKNAP.	THO. BRATTLE.
EDW. RAWSON.	THEODER ATKINSON.
PETER OLIVER.	

“ I also, dear brother, do heartily consent with the brethren in this matter, and earnestly desire the same thing of you ; who, heartily praying unto the Lord of the harvest to prosper your way therein, that an eminent, faithful laborer may be thrust forth into this our harvest, and that your whole work may be adopted and blessed by him, subscribe myself

“ Your affectionate brother in the Lord,

“ THOMAS THACHER, sen.”

NOTE F. — PAGE 229.

THE MINISTERS OPPOSED TO THE THIRD CHURCH.

The capital letters in the manuscript are perfectly distinct, and have been copied in the text. There can be no doubt that James Allen and John Davenport, the two ministers of the First Church, were two of the opposing ministers. S. M., the initials of the third, are less intelligible. It is well known that Increase Mather, the minister of the Second Church in Boston at that time, at first took sides with Allen and Davenport. He afterwards, however, joined in opinion with the great majority of the clergy. No ingenuity, however, can make the S. M. of our manuscript stand for I. M.; and it seems quite impossible that Hull should have printed this S., by mistake, for I.

Samuel Man, for some time minister of Wrentham, who graduated at Harvard College in 1665, began to preach in 1669 or 1670. He is the only New-England minister of that time who bore the initials S. M. As, however, he was not settled in the ministry until Oct. 15, 1673, it seems impossible that Hull should have known or cared what were his opinions upon a matter of state, even if he had begun to preach as early as May, 1669; which seems very doubtful. He is said to have died in the forty-ninth year of his ministry; his death taking place in 1719. He could, therefore, scarcely have been the S. M. of the text. It seems more probable that Samuel Mather, of Dublin, may have been at this time upon a visit in America, and that he may have expressed the opinion to which Hull here alludes. His position and connections would have given that opinion importance enough, in Hull's eyes, to induce him to add his initials to those of the other two.

NOTE G. — PAGE 265.

HULL'S ACCOUNTS.

There are several of Hull's account-books extant. Of these, the most valuable to the historian is his book of accounts as Treasurer of the Colony for more than a year. This is preserved in the library of the Historical Genealogical Society; where is also the account-book of Mr. Russell, his predecessor in office.

For public and for family history, the value of this curious volume has been greatly enhanced by an Index, prepared with laborious care by Mr. Isaac Child, of the Historical Genealogical Society, who has thus presented to antiquarians a very easy means of reference to an authentic document of a very curious period.

This book begins June 25, 1675. The last entry is dated Sept. 23, 1676. The title of the book, in his own writing, is, —

“A journal appertaining to the Colony of the Mattachusetts, relating to their military affairs, begun the 25th day of June, Anno Domini 1675. In which also is begun, the 19th day of May following, and intermixed, the whole accompts of his government. Capt. John Hull being first chosen Treasurer at Warr by the Hon^{ble} Council, and afterward Treasurer to s^d Colony by the Hon^{able} Gen^{all} Court.”

Capt. Hull's private accounts are kept with precision and neatness, and show very curiously the wide range of his business.

NOTE H. — FRONTISPIECE.

The coins represented on the same page with the facsimile of Hull's manuscript are shilling, sixpenny, threepenny, and twopenny pieces of his coinage. The twopenny-piece here figured belongs to the valuable collection of Dr. Winslow Lewis, of Boston; to whom we are indebted for its use. The other representations are made from coins in the collection of the Antiquarian Society.

We have not thought it necessary to attempt the representation of all the different dies employed in the coinage. It has been already observed (p. 294), that the date 1652 was retained from that time forward, even till 1684, when the operation of the mint was suspended. It is certain, however, that, in that period, as many as sixteen different dies of the shilling-piece were used: there are pieces of so many different impressions in the valuable collection of Mr. Ammi Brown, of Boston. In the collection of Mr. William G. Stearns, of Cambridge, there are sixpences from four different dies, threepenny-pieces from two dies, and twopenny-pieces also from two dies. One of the shilling-pieces of Mr. Brown's collection is, so far as known, unique.

There are two other unique specimens in his collection, which throw perhaps a little light on the erased preamble to the coinage statute of 1652, already alluded to (p. 284). They are twelvepenny-pieces, of different dies, both dated 1650, — two years before the passage of that statute. The obverse in each bears a tree; but, in one, the tree has fruit upon it, as if an apple-tree. This coin spells the name of the State MASACHUSETS, instead of MASATHUSETS, as the other coin of 1650 does, and the coins of 1652 do.* These coins came into Mr. Brown's possession in such ways as to remove any suspicion of fraud from their history, so far as it is known. Their

* One of the 1652 dies reads MASATUSETS.

existence leads us to conjecture that the plan for coinage existed as early as 1650; that some person, probably Hull himself, struck these coins as specimens of devices which might be employed. After they were struck, the last "new order about money" passed; but, as "no persons were found willing to try and stamp the same," no more coins were struck until the authorized issue of 1652.

All these coins, we understand, will be figured in the work on the Coinage of America, on which Mr. Charles I. Beecher, of New York, has been diligently engaged for a long time.

The medal figured in Folke, Ruding, and Felt, with the Good Samaritan on one side, and the Massachusetts shilling reverse on the other, was simply a coin in the Pembroke Collection, — a worn Massachusetts shilling, on which some engraver, with a punch, made out a device of the Good Samaritan. It is so described in the catalogue of that collection, made when it was sold. It is, of course, unique, and of no historical value.

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*to entire volume
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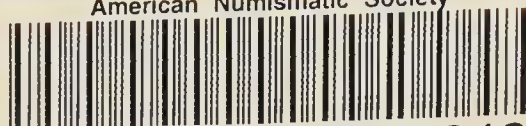
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NOTE.— There are a few additional matters not covered by this Index, to which the reader is specially referred; viz., the list of errata and addenda on page viii; the newly recovered passages of the RECORDS, intercalated after page 26; and the contents of the Memoirs of Presidents Winthrop and Davis.

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